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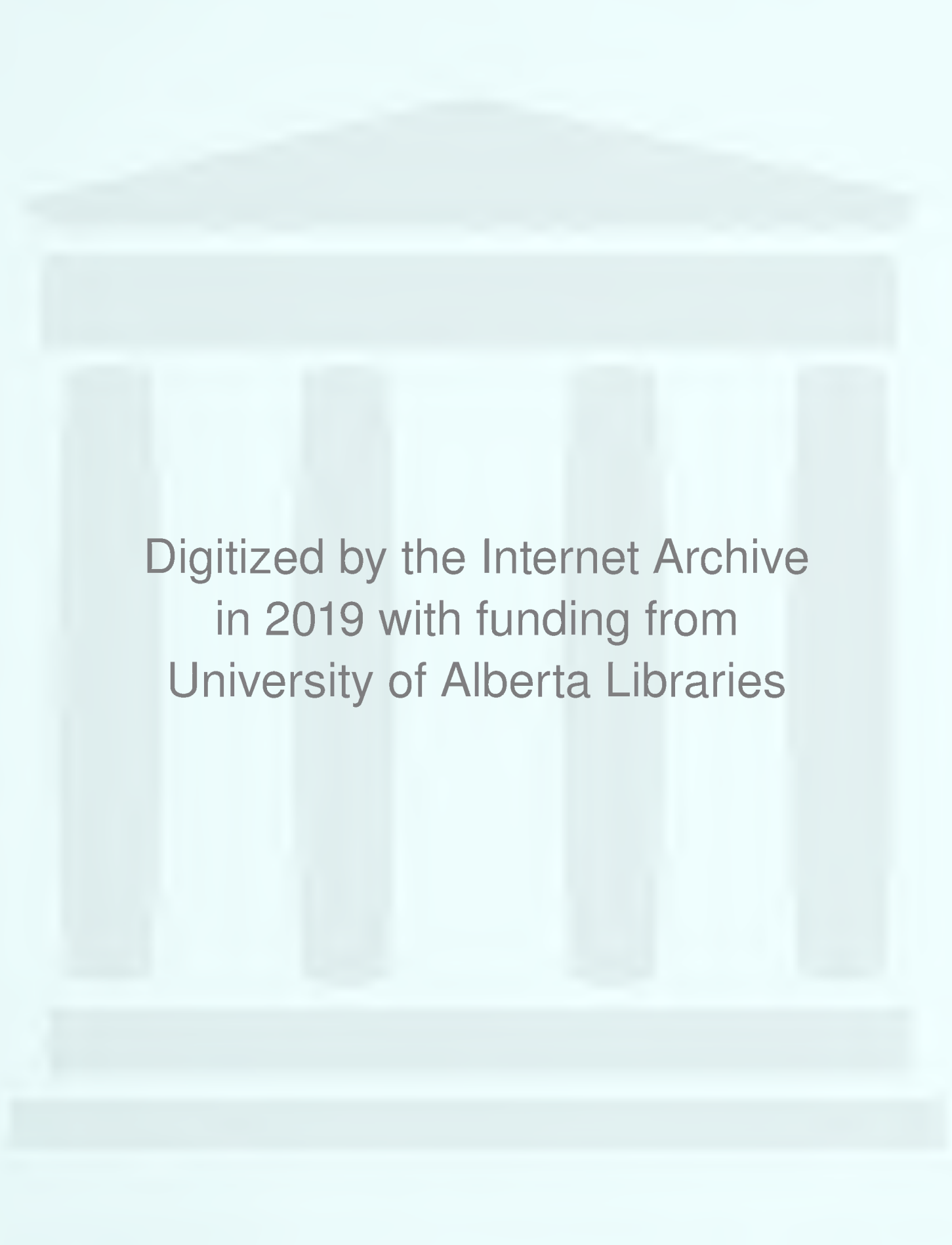
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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

AN EMPIRICAL OPERATIONALIZATION OF THE
CONCEPT ALIENATION AND FACTORS AFFECTING THE
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ALIENATION AND RURAL MIGRATION

by

ROBERT STIRLING

A THESIS

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "An Empirical Operationalization of the Concept Alienation and Factors Affecting the Relationship Between Alienation and Rural Migration" submitted by Robert Stirling in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I. THEORETICAL ASPECTS

This study is basically concerned with the phenomenon of rural-to-urban migration, and should thus be considered in a demographic context. Migration as a demographic phenomenon is free from the biological determinants which are normally associated with other demographic variables, such as fertility and mortality. More specifically, the study is primarily concerned with what is called "migratory selection." By way of definition, William Petersen has noted that:

given a sedentary population and an inducement to leave home typically some persons go and some stay behind. The process of differentiation of migrants from non-migrants by the fact that those who leave are not randomly distributed with respect to various characteristics is termed migratory selection. Whether the decision is made by the migrants themselves is not a crucial distinction in a demographic context.¹

Rural-to-urban migration, of course, is not immune to selection. Those who migrate to the cities are probably "different" in certain respects from those who remain on the farm. On the one hand, young people tend to flock to the cities to find employment and spouses. On the other hand, older people probably move to urban residences where they find more comfortable retirement among the amenities of city living. Therefore, it is likely that there is a difference in the average age of rural-to-urban migrants as compared to non-migrants. Petersen also notes that females tend to migrate more than do males and this would seem to be especially

¹ William Petersen, Population (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1961), pp. 592-593.

true for the rural community where employment and marriage opportunities for young women are generally scarce.²

International migration is often very selective on the basis of occupation. While early economic theory was predicated with the assumption of free movement of the labour force, numerous migration blocks have since been recognized. Pressure groups (for example, labour unions) have been quick to pressure federal governments into passing laws which would inhibit the free migration of specific occupational groups. Thus from the rural community one might expect emigration of those who have had training suitable for urban industries. Of course, as Petersen points out, it must not be forgotten that occupational skills are not fixed. "In many cases selection by occupation is less significant than the change of occupation that takes place as a concomitant of migration."^{3, 4} These few illustrations serve to explain what selective migration is and suggest possible ways that it may come into play in rural-to-urban migration.

² Ibid., p. 594.

³ Ibid., p. 598.

⁴ Pitirim Sorokin and Carle Zimmerman have concluded that, except for selection by age and sex, "There is no valid evidence that migration to the cities is selective in the sense that the cities attract in a much greater proportion of those from the country who are better physically, vitally, mentally, morally, or socially, and leave in the country, those who are poorer in all these respects. There is no evidence that the reverse is true . . . The probability of picking up the innately talented persons of the rural parts by the city are almost as great as the respective probability of picking up the dull or mediocre persons . . ." Pitirim Sorokin and Carle Zimmerman, Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929), p. 582.

The concept "alienation" throughout the study has a very specific meaning which will be defined in Chapter II. It might be noted here, however, that the concept alienation is considered part and parcel of the more general concept of "personal and social disorganization." The practical value of this combination is that its study can attempt to deal more adequately with the single root cause than with minute psychological disturbances. Therefore, the assumption must be explicitly made that the psychological disturbances are considered to be the outward show of the more fundamental social causes.

Marshall B. Clinard, in his objections to theories of social disorganization has noted two interesting alternatives to the deviance which is usually posited as the result of "disorganization."⁵ One suggests the possibility that what seems to be disorganization may often be highly organized systems of competing norms, and the other the possibility that a variety of sub-cultures may contribute to the unity or integration of a society rather than to its disintegration. These bring up the suggestion of functional alternatives to personal and social disorganization. Theories of social disorganization must not violate the likelihood that any so-called "deviant" sub-culture may be functional in providing at least standard deviant behaviour patterns for a certain number of individuals. By "deviant" is meant behaviour in a disapproved direction and of sufficient degree to exceed the "tolerance limit of the community."⁶

⁵ Marshall B. Clinard, Sociology of Deviant Behavior (New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston Inc., 1963), p. 11.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 20-22.

While Clinard seems to be concerned largely with deviant behaviour and deviant sub-cultures it must be recognized that not all sub-cultures are deviant. Talcott Parsons has posited religion in particular to be a typical functional alternative to deviance. In this case farmers tend to develop a very magical type of religion which serves to overcome the frustrating experience associated with the uncertainty coming from the maze of uncontrollable factors found in past and present agriculture.⁷

Some mention should be made of the absolute level of alienation among members of a given society. We would have to agree with Parsons when he says that a certain amount of alienation exists in any society since the discrepancies (between expectations and social conditions) which cause alienation are ". . . . grounded in the nature of human personality."⁸

The popular approach to alienation and social disorganization is the social problems approach. There, the underlying assumption seems to be that it is disruptive to the "smooth functioning" of society. It tends to be identified with "conflict" and "crisis" and is therefore unacceptable and must be eliminated. David Riesman laments the fact that our university system is turning out "alienated" professionals who are apathetic towards their future work.⁹ C. Wright Mills cautions us that reason and freedom are in danger and that if we do not formulate

⁷ Talcott Parsons, Religious Perspectives Of College Teaching In Sociology And Social Psychology (New Haven: The Hazen Foundation, 1950).

⁸ Ibid., p. 13.

⁹ David Riesman, "Where Is The College Generation Headed?" Atlantic (April 1961), p. 19.

a social system where this problem can be rectified then decision making and history making will go unattended or by default.¹⁰

II. PRACTICAL ASPECTS

Throughout the study a division has been maintained between what has been called "objective" and "subjective" personal and social disorganization. The objective component refers to conditions that occur in the social and cultural structure of a social system. The subjective component refers to the psychological attitudes of disorganization which specific individuals may harbour. Furthermore, it has been predicted that objective personal and social disorganization produces the subjective component which has here been understood to be psychological alienation. In turn, it has also been predicted that psychological alienation causes rural-to-urban migration. Finally, in order to check the above two predictions it was necessary to test a third area namely, the relationship between objective personal and social disorganization and rural-to-urban migration.

Since it was impossible to measure objective personal and social disorganization directly, it was necessary to attribute relationships between selected variables in the social structure (such as level of living, income, age, education, and organizational and religious involvement) and objective disorganization on theoretical grounds. The problems for the present study can be reduced to the following three specific tasks:

¹⁰ C. Wright Mills, "On Reason and Freedom," in Anxiety and Identity, ed. Maurice R. Stein et al. (Illinois: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1960), pp. 110-119.

1. To test the relationships between selected variables in the social structure and psychological alienation,
2. To test the relationship between psychological alienation and rural-to-urban migration, and
3. To test the relationship between selected variables in the social structure and rural-to-urban migration.

III. METHOD

The Saskatchewan Rural Municipality of Great Bend No. 405, located about 60 miles north-west of Saskatoon, was selected as the rural area to be studied. Almost all of its occupants who had some rural background were interviewed. This involved interviewing 164 farm residents and 23 "intermediate" migrants who resided in the two towns within that area. A number of those who had at one time resided in this area but who had migrated to the city of Saskatoon were also traced and interviewed. This involved 28 interviews. Thus the total sample consisted of 215 respondents with past or present farm experience.

Tests of association (chi-squares) were carried out on cross-tabulations between migration, alienation, and the "selected variables." Each set of cross-tabulations was relevant to one of the specific problems listed above.

As well, the concept "subjective alienation" was empirically operationalized for the rural community studied. Scale items measuring attitudes of powerlessness, normlessness and social isolation were formed into unidimensional scales. These scales were intercorrelated so that any that did not seem to measure at least general alienation could be removed.

IV. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

It was concluded that rural-to-urban migration and alienation were not uniformly associated for members of this sample. Farmers who lived on their farms but who were considering migration were more alienated on the average than either those who lived on farms and had not considered moving or those who had already moved. Further, it was discovered that farmers who considered migration were most often plagued with problems of the farm economy about which they had no control.

It was also concluded that the data presented and the relationships that obtained offered some evidence that a causal relationship, in fact, exists between personal and social disorganization and alienation and between alienation and rural-to-urban migration. Several exceptions to these relationships were noted.

V. LIMITATIONS

The results of the present study are reduced in their significance because of the following limitations:

1. While the farm sample was quite large (187 respondents) the migrant sample was too small (28 respondents) to be representative of Saskatchewan rural-to-urban migrants. Fortunately, some of the results were not seriously hampered by this poor representation of one migration continuum pole.

2. Although the attitude scales which served to operationalize subjective alienation were unidimensional their individual items did not seem to suit the rural setting adequately. In some cases, the items forced farmers to make judgements

on issues which were not important to them. As well, unwarranted variation was no doubt brought into the data because of the attitude items and their format.

3. The generalization of specific results much beyond the boundaries of the farm study area would be tenuous at best. The area is located on the boundary of two different types of farming and is in many ways a transitional area itself. The more general relationships, however, do not suffer as badly from this peculiarity of the area location. The study has attempted to illustrate personal and social disorganization and alienation in a rural setting and show their relationships to rural-to-urban migration. General results bearing on this content area are probably representative of the entire province.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

This chapter consists of a review of the works of a selection of theorists in the field of personal and social disorganization, anomie and alienation. The selection has been limited to those works which (1) were largely "sociological" in nature (i.e. pertaining more to the qualities of the social system than to the individual human organism), and (2) showed some common element or convergence with each other. A summary of the convergences between the theories is placed at the end of the chapter.

The review of theories begins with the works of Karl Marx because these represent some of the earliest theoretical syntheses in this area.¹ From there, the review considers more recent authors in the general areas of anomie, interactionist and full-scale theories of disorganization, and alienation.

I. AN EARLY THEORY OF ALIENATED LABOUR

According to Erich Fromm, Karl Marx's concept of the nature of man did not differ significantly from that of Hegel. For them, man had both an essence and an historical existence. Marx divided human essence into two types, the first consisting of what we might call drives such as hunger and the sexual urge, the

¹ The explanation of Marx's position used in this chapter comes largely from his Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts, tr. T. B. Bottomore, in Erich Fromm, Marx's Concept of Man (New York: Frederick Unger Publishing Co., 1961), pp. 87-196.

second being relative to and originating within the particular social structure. This is consistent with Marx's general understanding of society as a superstructure of social relations superimposed on economic factors, or, as he called them, relations of production which man established as he developed the natural resources of his environment.²

Marx understood the creative process to be extremely important, for it is through creating that man is able to express himself and his uniqueness. Labour, therefore, becomes not a means to some other end but an end in itself. That is to say, it provides the situation through which man can develop himself. Apparently existence and essence are made one through the creative process. Labour results in a product and it is this product which is the objectification of work; the product, having been molded by the worker, bears a certain unique resemblance to him.

Some forms of work, according to Marx, allow full realization of the "human" essence of the worker. Marx felt this to be especially true of craftsmanship. There, a craftsman would model a product in his own unique way. The total process was enjoyable and at all times under the complete control of the craftsman. Unfortunately, however, not all forms of production provide this happy situation.

But what exactly did Marx mean when he used the phrase "alienation of labour?" Marx answered as follows:

First that the work is external to the worker, that is is not part of his nature; and that consequently he does not fulfill himself in his

² Fromm, op. cit., pp. 25-27.

work but denies himself, has a feeling of misery rather than well being, does not develop freely his mental and physical energies, but is physically exhausted and mentally debased. The worker therefore feels himself at home only during his leisure time for at work he feels homeless. His work is not voluntary but imposed. Forced labor, it is not the satisfaction of a need but only a means for satisfying other needs.³

The result of capitalist production is alienated labour. Note also that the product which alienated labour produces is private property.

According to Marx, the worker has been alienated in at least four ways:

1. He no longer controls the product which he is producing, but instead it stands apart from him and dominates him.
2. The act of production has become "unhealthy", as the previous quotation illustrates.
3. The worker has been alienated from "the 'species-life' of man." We might interpret this as meaning simply that there has arisen a fundamental difference between the essence and the existence of man as portrayed in the worker, and
4. As a result of all this, the worker becomes alienated from his fellow men.

II. THEORIES OF ANOMIE

Durkheim's Theory of Suicide

Emil Durkheim's work on suicide has provided the basis for a good deal of

³ Karl Marx as quoted in Erich Fromm, ibid., p. 51.

modern disorganization theory.⁴ He considered suicide to be an index of the degree of social solidarity prevalent in a given society. Especially significant in Durkheim's work was his attempt to look for the cause of suicide not in individual psychological motivations, but in certain "social currents" which he felt caused suicide in an individual through that individual's "weak spots." To understand suicide Durkheim felt we must see the individual against a background of social currents or social pressures derived from the organization of society, economic, political, religious and so forth. In using this method, Durkheim isolated three types of suicide.

1. Anomic suicide. Durkheim outlined a type of suicide which he named "anomic suicide" and which took its toll for the most part within the business community. Here Durkheim noticed that suicide tended to occur whenever normal or hopeful expectations were not met. In other words, suicides would be increased by industrial or financial crises. However, suicides were not reduced during periods of commercial and financial prosperity. Durkheim explained this peculiarity as follows. Happiness can only result when an individual's needs are balanced proportionately with his means. Whenever the means are incapable of satisfactorily providing for the needs, a sort of continual friction is set up until the situation is rectified. The whole process tends to be a more or less painful one for the individuals concerned. Now when an economic crisis erupts, individuals' needs obviously outstrip their means, but even when prosperity is the case, individuals' needs tend to be in excess of their means. Durkheim explained this to be due to

⁴ Emil Durkheim, Suicide, A Study In Sociology, tr. John A. Spaulding and George Simpson (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1951).

the fact that man's needs tend to be infinite and always expandable. Under normal circumstances society provides norms which serve to hold the needs that men will develop in some sort of balance with the means they have at hand.

It is not human nature which can assign the variable limits necessary to our needs. They are thus unlimited so far as they depend on the individual alone. Irrespective of any external regulatory force our capacity for feeling is in itself an insatiable bottomless abyss.⁵

Since man cannot assign the limits due his needs upon himself, he must receive it from some authority which he respects and to which he spontaneously yields. Society possesses such authority and assigns the necessary limits on individual desires.

Anomic suicide, therefore, can result when man's activities lack regulation. Durkheim stated that this was not typical of the agricultural industry since traditional regulatory forces seemed still to be in control and the "fever of business" had only limited importance.

2. Egoistic suicide. Durkheim gave this variety of suicide its name because it involved excessive individualism of the victim. He noted that a strongly integrated society (exemplified by the Roman Catholic church) tended to hold individuals under control demanding their service and forbidding them to willfully do away with themselves. However, when this integration broke down in society (exemplified by the Protestant churches) the individual was no longer bound by the society's indictment even though suicide was divinely forbidden. Further, Durkheim went on to explain that

⁵ Ibid., p. 247.

. . . life is said to be intolerable unless some reason for existing is involved, some purpose justifying life's trials. The individual alone is not a sufficient end for this activity. He is too little When, therefore, we have no other object than ourselves, we cannot avoid the thought that our efforts will finally end in nothingness, since we ourselves disappear, but annihilation terrifies us. Under these conditions one would lose courage to live, that is, to act and struggle, since nothing will remain of our exertions.

To recapitulate then, when a group becomes disorganized, the individual is free from social life. The individual's own goals become predominant over society's goals. A strongly integrated group holds the individual to its service. Where there is a subordination of the group to the individual, the result can be egoistic suicide.

3. Altruistic suicide. Durkheim explained that this type of suicide was the opposite of egoistic suicide. In other words, it occurred where an individual was so completely subordinated by his group or society that he had almost no goals or values of his own. Altruistic suicide was best exemplified among the ranks of the army. There an individual could become so engulfed by the militant demands of the society's goals (as these were portrayed by the army) that he would give up his life in a suicidal fashion. To recapitulate, as opposed to egoistic suicide, where the individual subordinates the group to himself, in altruistic suicide, the group ends are so strong and predominant as to reduce the individual's place to nothing.

Merton's Theory of Anomie

Robert K. Merton continued the work begun by Durkheim, making a number of rather important extensions. Merton's analysis of the concept "anomie"

⁶ Ibid., p. 210.

is a functional approach which "considers socially deviant behavior just as much a product of social structure as conformist behavior."⁷ Merton begins by dividing society into two broad areas, namely the social structure and the cultural structure. The cultural structure, he suggests, provides cultural goals towards which individuals strive. The social structure in turn provides institutionalized means by which individuals may attain their culturally induced goals. Merton goes on to say

No society lacks norms governing conduct but societies do differ in the degree to which the folkways, mores and institutional controls are effectively integrated with goals which stand high in the hierarchy of cultural values. The culture may be such as to lead individuals to center their emotional convictions upon the complex of culturally acclaimed ends, with far less emotional support for the prescribed methods of reaching out for these ends.⁸

Merton feels that one such goal standing high in the hierarchy of cultural values is the success theme which typifies America as "a society which places a high premium on economic influence and social ascent for all its members."⁹

From this we can get some idea of how anomie can be related to deviant behaviour. Taking the success theme as an example it must be realized that some individuals internalize this cultural goal to a greater extent than others. When an individual strongly holds this highly valued cultural goal but at the same time has no effective institutional means for realizing success (e.g. financial or intellectual) he becomes vulnerable to the use of means which are not institutionally prescribed. By departing from the usual institutional norms or means he may even stand a fair

⁷ Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), p. 121.

⁸ Ibid., p. 135.

⁹ Ibid., p. 167.

chance of successfully achieving the culturally prescribed goals. But this deviant manner of achieving the goal does not occur in isolation. This mode of behaviour will soon spread to other individuals within his social system. If the deviant behaviour tends to be successful on the whole there will be a general tendency to discount the usual institutional means or at least to reduce the control effect that institutional means have over individuals in the system. Thus we can see how anomie tends to spread within the social system and become more acute, unless control mechanisms come into play "which minimize the strains resulting from seeming /or actual/ contradictions between cultural goals and socially restricted access to them."¹⁰

Adaptations to anomie. Merton has set up the following typology of five modes of individual adaptation to anomic situations.

1. Conformity occurs whenever the cultural goals and institutionalized means are adequately integrated and there is no discrepancy between them. In such a case, an individual is able to accept the cultural goals and the institutionalized means for attaining them.
2. Innovation exists whenever an individual accepts the cultural goal but seeks other means than the normal institutionalized means for its attainment.
3. Ritualism is the exact opposite of innovation, that is, the institutionalized means are accepted but the cultural goal is not.
4. In the case of retreatism neither the cultural goal nor the institutionalized means is accepted, and
5. In the case of rebellion, prevailing values or cultural goals are rejected

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 181.

and new values are substituted. Merton thinks that individuals who have adapted to the situation of anomie in the rebellious fashion tend to cluster together into groups in order to set up a new hierarchy of goals and means for their attainment.

Merton considers types two, three, four, and five as deviant behaviour although he agrees that to classify ritualism as deviant behaviour may place one on shaky ground.

Anomic suicide and anomie compared. Merton's theory of anomie and Durkheim's theory of anomic suicide differ in one important respect. For Durkheim, anomic situations arose whenever individuals' normal or hopeful expectations were not met. Individuals were endowed with socially induced needs but during crises such as economic depression these needs could not be realized. And in the case of economic prosperity, the goals or needs seemed to be infinite. Hence, society was unable to carry out the necessary regulatory function on individuals' needs.

According to Merton, however, it was not so much a crisis that brought on anomie as the existence of an extreme value or a strongly expressed cultural goal which could not be reasonably obtained within the confines of the institutional means provided. Thus, by not being limited to periods of crises (or perhaps by broadening the use of the term crisis to include the gradually increasing discrepancy between goals and means) Merton's theory provides us with a more flexible, analytical tool if we are to use it in scanning modern social structure for evidence of anomie. The idea of such "cumulative crises" will be found to be an element of convergence among several of the following theories.

Subjective and Objective Anomie

Merton makes an essential dichotomization of anomie into its "subjective" and "objective" parts. Durkheim used the concept anomie to refer simply to a property of the social structure. Others, for example Robert M. MacIver and David Riesman, have used the concept to refer to a psychological state of mind in the individual.¹¹ Thus we actually have two concepts, "objective anomie" referring to a condition in the social structure, and "subjective anomie" referring to an individual state of mind. Merton believes that "the psychological concept is nevertheless a counterpart of the sociological concept of anomie and not a substitute for it."¹²

Merton's theoretical considerations carefully separate the psychological (subjective) from the sociological (objective) parts of the concept anomie, and he insists that for analytical purposes one should continue to maintain this separation. However, he notes that some scales have attempted to measure anomie and he feels that these measures of anomie as it is subjectively experienced are "manifestly needed as a further measure of anomie, as an objective condition of group life."¹³ Measures of objective anomie per se have been limited to the use of population data. Merton states that it is important for us to discover the relationship that exists between the subjective and objective components of anomie.

¹¹ R. M. MacIver, The Ramparts We Guard (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1950) and David Riesman et al. The Lonely Crowd (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950) as quoted in R. K. Merton, ibid., p. 162.

¹² Merton, ibid., p. 162.

¹³ Ibid., p. 165.

A Theory of Delinquent Sub-cultures

Before leaving the subject of anomie we should consider the theoretical work of Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin.¹⁴ Male adolescents, they suggest, experience desperation because they feel that their position in the economic structure is relatively fixed and immutable. At the same time they are exposed to cultural goals and an ideology centred around the success theme (mentioned by Merton) in which the failure to desire to go always onward and upward is regarded as moral defeat and the failure to succeed in this upward climb is proof of it. Whenever a situation exists where the social system produces problems of severe adjustment for many adolescents "it is possible that a collective challenge to the legitimacy of the established rules of conduct will emerge This is especially likely to occur where a democratic ideology exists. . . ."¹⁵ Thus we have the beginning of delinquent sub-cultures which provide illegitimate means whereby the infinite and receding goals emphasized by modern society can be successfully attained. Cloward and Ohlin suggest that at least three types of sub-cultures will be formed, namely; the criminal sub-culture in which male adolescents can succeed especially through petty criminal activities; the conflict sub-culture which contains male adolescents who have not been able to "make a go of it" in the criminal sub-culture and hence turn to open conflict; and the retreatist sub-culture in which we find the "double failures," that is, those who have slipped out of the criminal sub-culture because they could not handle the illegitimate means there, and who have

¹⁴ Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin, Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1960).

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 108.

also failed in the conflict sub-culture. Members of retreatist sub-cultures are known for their drug addiction.

III. INTERACTIONIST APPROACHES TO DISORGANIZATION

The next few theories to be considered can be broadly labelled as "interactionist," and although the first one does not deal specifically with disorganization it is concerned with the fundamental process of the development of the self, and hence has been included because it seems relevant especially to personal and social disorganization theory.

Adult Changes in the Self

In an article entitled "Transformations Of Identity," Anselm Strauss is concerned with socialization as it occurs in adults rather than in children.¹⁶ He attempts to set down a new theory of adult development, namely, "development by transformation." He uses by way of analogy the case of the child acquiring knowledge. Strauss says the child does not simply get more and more knowledge, but is transformed. As the child "advances,"

. . . his earlier concepts are systematically superceded by increasingly complex ones. The earlier ones are necessary for the latter; each advance depends upon the child's understanding a number of prerequisite notions. As the newer classifications are grasped, the old ones become revised, qualified, or even dropped out entirely from memory. These changes in conception level involved, of course, changes in behavior, since behaving is not separate from classifying. Shifts in concept connote shifts in perceiving, remembering, and valuing - in short, radical changes of action and person.¹⁷

¹⁶ Anselm Strauss, "Transformations Of Identity" in Human Behavior and Social Processes, ed. Arnold Rose (Boston: Houghton & Mifflin Company, 1962), pp. 63-85.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 66.

Similarly, adults, Strauss says, tend to experience this change by transformation. Transformations are symbolized and necessitated by changes in the persons surroundings and in his evaluation of himself. Hence, the adult changes by means of "turning points" in his career. Turning points serve to force the individual to recognize that he has changed in some fundamental way.

Strauss illustrates what he means by turning points, with the use of several examples taken from modern society. He notes that whenever a person meets a challenge either imposed by himself or by others he will be forced to evaluate himself and will come face to face with a turning point in his career. This is especially true since ceremonial announcement of the outcome of the challenge is often made. Academic institutions especially are continually challenging their students with tests. If the tests are passed the results of this challenge are open for everyone to see. Other tests are not institutionalized and Strauss exemplifies this point with the case of the student nurse handling her first dying patient. Strauss notes that failure to pass the test may not mean transformation "but may lead to more complete preparation until the test is finally definitely failed or passed" ¹⁸

Deliberate courting of temptation and betrayal provide the bases for two other types of transforming experiences in adult development. Finally, Strauss considers regularized status passage as a kind of socially structured turning point. In order to avoid extinction, a group's status positions must be continuously filled. But office-holders regularly die, retire, move away, fail or even betray the group. As well, old goals may be replaced and hence new positions are needed. Strauss suggests that this regular changeover of office-holders provides a basis for

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 69

individual reevaluation or transformation.

Changes Involving the Acceptance of Failure

An article by Erving Goffman continues from the theoretical premise laid down by Strauss.¹⁹ Goffman uses as his setting the relationship between a confidence man and his "mark", that is, the individual who is to be victimized by the confidence man's planned illegal exploitation. Goffman here is considering the social position of the "sucker," the person who has been "taken in." He does not limit his analysis to the confidence game, but extends it to society at large. He is principally concerned with how individuals may be persuaded to accept failure

The position of the mark who has just illegally been parted with his money is this:

He has defined himself as a shrewd man and must face the fact that he is only another easy mark. He has defined himself as possessing a certain set of qualities and then proven to himself that he is miserably lacking in them. This is a process of self-destruction of the self.²⁰

It is often necessary that the mark be "cooled out." That is to say that his anger be somehow alleviated or reduced. This is the task of the "cooler." The cooler thus deals with persons whose previously high expectations and self-conception have been shattered.

Goffman insists that the term mark need not be limited to the confidence

¹⁹ Erving Goffman, "On Cooling The Mark Out; Some Aspects of Adaptation to Failure," in Human Behavior and Social Processes, ed. Arnold Rose (Boston: Houghton & Mifflin Company, 1962), pp. 482-505.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 485.

game but can be extended to the larger social scene. It often happens that persons are seriously disappointed when their normal expectations are not met. As well, misguided expectations often occur in society, without planned illegal manipulation, and these too can be frustrated. At this point the disenchanted individual needs consolation or "cooling." An example of such reasonable expectations which are frustrated within the larger society is the involuntary loss of a role or status.

Certain cooling procedures are built into modern society. Service organizations, for example, often contain large departments which deal with nothing more than complaints of clients and customers. The practice of hiring employees on a temporary basis for the first two or three months until they have proven adequate to the job is another example of how modern society eases the shock of frustration on an individual before the frustration actually takes place.

If the disenchantment is too great it may be impossible to cool the mark out. "Personal disorganization" is one way in which a mark may refuse to be cooled out according to Goffman. In other instances, a mark may subsequently "squawk" to higher officials. Or a mark who refuses to be cooled out may do so by turning "sour." Here the mark overtly appears to have accepted his loss and tends to withdraw within himself to the detriment of his immediate work group and society in general.

Full-Scale Disorganization Theory

In concluding the interactionist approach, we must include the work of Reece McGee.²¹ Although McGee's discussion of "social disorganization" is

²¹ Reece McGee, Social Disorganization In America (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1962).

based largely on the social psychology of George Herbert Mead, one can recognize several similarities with the discussion of anomie presented earlier. McGee begins with the position concerning social organization and disorganization set down by Arnold Rose in an earlier essay.²² Rose holds that

disorganization consists in deviation from social norms. In this view a social problem (such as divorce or juvenile delinquency) is a set of behaviors which are the result of contradictions or conflicts within a normative system or the result of the absence of a normative system covering the specific behavior in question. This condition of conflict within norms or lack of norms concerning behavior is social disorganization.²³

McGee explains that people have normal expectations of other people to act in certain regular ways and hence they tend to adjust their own actions so that they will be in accord with what they perceive to be the expectations of others. A group exists whenever several persons share certain expectations in relation to one another. These expectations are predicated upon common meanings (i.e. definitions of objects sometimes including how one may act toward them) and values (i.e. folkways stating how one must act toward given objects). The essential point is that "an individual is able to predict another individual's behavior largely because both individuals will have 'internalized' approximately the same meanings and values. . . ."²⁴

However, when two or more individuals have not internalized the same

²² Arnold Rose, "Theory of Social Organization and Disorganization" as quoted in Reece McGee, ibid., p. viii.

²³ Ibid., p. viii.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 20.

meanings or values two kinds of disorganization can result. First of all, two groups of individuals may have internalized common meanings and values amongst themselves. Between these two groups, however, no common meanings and values may exist. This type of disorganization (between two discreet sub-groups) is likely to lead to conflict.

The second type of social disorganization exists where a number of individuals in physical contact have not internalized a large number of common meanings and values. Hence, none of them meet the normal expectations of each other and none can predict the others' behaviour. McGee calls this situation anomie.

IV. PARSONS' THEORY OF ALIENATION AND ITS RELATION TO RELIGION

Talcott Parsons in a brief article on the sociology of religion, has also outlined his understanding of the term "alienation" and its relation to the motivation of religious belief and behaviour.²⁵ Parsons begins by recognizing that the distinguishing fact about man as an animal is that he is culture bearing. Part of the role of the cultural system is to give meaning to man's experiences. The frame of reference provided by the culture enables him to determine whether or not a certain experience has been gratifying and how closely his culturally derived expectations and the actuality which he experiences coincide. Parsons insists that while men often invest the fulfillment of given expectations with deep emotion they still may be doomed to frustration. Two types of frustration exist. On the one hand, an individual may face a crisis which was unforeseen and hence not prepared for, or was

²⁵ Talcott Parsons, Religious Perspectives of College Teaching in Sociology and Social Psychology (New Haven: The Hazen Foundation, 1950).

perhaps uncontrollable, or both (e.g. premature death). On the other hand, an individual's emotional investment may be lost in those "uncertain" types of situations where unknown and/or uncontrollable factors intervene to make the activity a failure (e.g. farm crop failures).

These frustrations of established expectations produce problems of strain and tension for the individual. Yet because man is a culture bearing animal he attempts to give these frustrations a meaning. Parsons sees religion as playing a very significant part in this "problem of meaning" area. Perhaps it is significant that farmers who tend to suffer frustrations of established expectations (a situation similar to Durkheim's anomie) also have historically produced fascinating, magical religions.

Motivational reactions to the aforementioned strain are ambivalent. That is, the object producing the strain is both feared (because it has contributed to the frustration of the individual's expectations), and found attractive (because the object had originally a certain meaning to the individual). Hence the person under strain is also in psychological conflict. The individual will tend to direct hostility against the object in question. This hostility may even be generalized to the particular circle of human associations and patterns of culture in which the individual grew up.

Therefore the negative component of his /the individual's/ reactions to strain is largely constituted by what may be called "alienation" from the persons and the normative patterns in relation to whom and which he has lived. Alienation is always relative to the social situation in which it arises, it is always hostility to some persons and some patterns, more or less generalized to others.²⁶

²⁶ Ibid., p. 15.

As alienation theory goes we would have to agree that Parsons' discussion of the subject is essentially specific to one type of "alienation" which might be called "meaninglessness" although at times he carries over into what has been called "anomie" or "normlessness" and also into the area of frustration brought about by the inability to control certain objects or situations -- a type of alienation which might be called "powerlessness." These concepts will be more important for the next section's discussion.

V. SEEMAN'S CATEGORIES OF ALIENATION

Before 1960 almost everyone who used the concept "alienation" provided his own definition for it. At that time, fortunately, Melvin Seeman made an attempt at bringing order out of chaos by setting out five types of "alienation" which he felt were in most common usage, and by operationally defining each on the basis of values, behaviour and expectations.²⁷ A description of the five types follows.

A. Powerlessness

The first type of alienation that Seeman considers is "powerlessness" which he operationally defines as ". . . the expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behavior cannot determine the occurrence of the outcomes, or reinforcements, he seeks."²⁸ Seeman thinks that Marx's conception of alienation is similar to powerlessness. There, as has been already illustrated, the

²⁷ Melvin Seeman, "On The Meaning Of Alienation," American Sociological Review, vol. 24, no. 6 (December 1959), pp. 783-791.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 784.

worker finds himself in a situation of capitalist production or, more specifically, in a factory where he is unable to exert any significant controls on the total product towards which his productive activity is directed. The product of his labour becomes an alien object to him and he is powerless to do anything about it. The worker is unable to create (because of the very organization of things) and he is unable to change his position through any activity of his own.

The powerless individual will probably place a lot of faith in chance or luck, according to Seeman. Since it is obvious to him, at least, that his activities don't seem to have any bearing on what eventually happens to him, he becomes quite ready to assign responsibility for his experiences to some outside or external force.

B. Meaninglessness

Seeman's second type of alienation, "meaninglessness," exists "when the individual is unclear as to what he ought to believe -- when the individual's minimal standards for clarity in decision making are not met," and it is operationally defined as ". . . a low expectancy that satisfactory predictions about future outcomes of behavior can be made."²⁹ Seeman uses Karl Mannheim's discussion of functional and substantial rationalities to illustrate what he means by meaninglessness.³⁰ As functional rationality increases, that is, as society increasingly organizes its members towards the more efficient realization of its goals, an individual's ability to act in a given situation with reference to the total process decreases. In other

²⁹ Ibid., p. 786.

³⁰ Karl Mannheim, Man And Society In An Age Of Reconstruction (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1940) as quoted in M. Seeman, ibid., p. 786.

words, to be efficiently organized for the realization of goals, society must insure that each member do his little part in the overall process, but this necessarily means that each member (a) occupies a relatively meaningless position in the total process, and (b) is soon reduced to having no understanding of the total process or what it means. If, for example, the individual is confronted with a situation where, in order to act meaningfully, he must have some understanding of the total process, then he is likely to default. Modern democracy is a clear example of this for many.

Functional alternatives. Seeman's interpretation of meaninglessness parallels the discussion by Parsons of the function of religion. Parson's discussion, however, serves to illustrate the possibility (mentioned in the Introduction) of functional alternatives to feelings of alienation, namely, strong religious involvement and attachment. Another functional alternative is suggested by Erich Hoffer's "True Believer."³¹ Such an individual flies to the extremist cause to gain an understanding of the total process and to glean some meaning for his own existence which is, after all, that of a small toad in a pretty big puddle.

C. Normlessness

Seeman's third type of alienation, "normlessness" is used to label the situation where ". . . there is a high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviors are required to achieve given goals."³² Thus, normlessness seems to be virtually

³¹ Erich Hoffer, The True Believer (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951).

³² Seeman, op. cit., p. 788.

identical to the concept of anomie enlarged by Merton, and would seem to have fundamentally close ties with what Seeman has called meaninglessness and powerlessness. Seeman insists that

This third meaning of alienation is logically independent of the two versions discussed above. Expectancies concerning unapproved means, presumably, can vary independently of the individual's expectancy that his own behavior will determine his success in reaching a goal (what I have called "powerlessness") or his belief that he operates in an intellectually comprehensible world ("meaninglessness"). Such a view of anomie, to be sure, narrows the evocative character of the concept, but it provides a more likely way of developing its research potential.³³

Objective and subjective alienation. It is important to recognize that in line with Merton's earlier discussion of the subjective and objective aspects of anomie, alienation can also have subjective and objective components. Thus, for example, an individual can feel psychologically normless and theoretically there can exist an objective normless situation in society. Notice that the operational definitions used by Seeman to define each of his concepts of alienation (the three already mentioned, as well as the two yet to be mentioned) establish alienation in its subjective sense. As we mentioned earlier, Seeman operationally defined each type of alienation on the basis of values, behaviour and expectations, and those three criteria clearly identify it as a psychological state of mind held by individuals, and not as a condition of society. That is not to say, however, that feelings of alienation or "subjective alienation" do not have a counterpart in the social structure. If we are to accept Merton on this question, we would then have to agree that both the objective and subjective components of alienation do, in fact, exist.

³³ Ibid., p. 788.

Normative reactions to normlessness. To continue briefly with our discussion of normlessness or anomie, there may exist a typical reaction to this type of alienation which Howard Becker has called "normative reactions to normlessness."³⁴ Becker suggests it

. . . is found wherever the subject defines the situation of action, the societal context, as "normless" and attempts to restructure it in accord with explicit normative patterns We may, then, tentatively define normative "reactions" as efforts to adhere to worthy norms in the face of what is viewed as actual or potential normlessness.³⁵

D. Social Isolation

Seeman's fourth type of alienation he calls "social isolation." Operationally defined it exists when individuals ". . . assign low reward value to goals or beliefs that are typically highly valued in a given society."³⁶ Much of the contemporary work on isolation stems from the work of Gwynn Nettler, who observed alienation on the basis of the individual's detachment from popular cultural standards or his estrangement from society and the culture it carries. Nettler's work will be examined more carefully in Chapter III.³⁷ Note also that the isolated person's behaviour might represent either of two types of adaptations, namely, the conformist or the rebel against the social system or status quo. Nettler's study dealt mainly with those who were at least tacitly rebellious, but also relevant here is David

³⁴ Howard Becker, "Normative Reactions to Normlessness," American Sociological Review, vol. 25, no. 6 (December 1960), pp. 803-810.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 805.

³⁶ Seeman, op. cit., p. 789.

³⁷ Gwynn Nettler, "A Measure of Alienation," American Sociological Review, vol. 22, no. 6 (December 1957), pp. 670-677.

Riesman's conception of the "lonely crowd" where society tends to be made up of other-directed individuals who "use" each other as their source of direction to relate to each other in impersonal ways.³⁸

E. Self-Estrangement

The fifth type of alienation described by Seeman is what he calls "self-estrangement." Seeman suggests that the operational definition for this type of alienation might be ". . . the degree of dependence of the given behavior upon anticipated future rewards, that is, upon rewards that lie outside the activity itself."³⁹ By way of exemplification (but not as proof) of this type of alienation Seeman says "Riesman's discussion of other direction falls within this meaning of alienation; for what is at stake is that the child learns nothing in his character, no possession he owns, no inheritance of name or talent, no work he has done, is valued for itself but only for its effect on others . . .,"⁴⁰

VI. BLOCH'S THEORY OF DISORGANIZATION

The final theoretical attempt to develop the concept of "personal and social disorganization" that will be considered is that of Herbert A. Bloch.⁴¹ The details

³⁸ David Riesman et al., The Lonely Crowd (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950).

³⁹ Seeman, op. cit., p. 790.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 790.

⁴¹ Herbert A. Bloch, Disorganization: Personal and Social (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956).

of Bloch's theory (spelled out in his book Disorganization: Personal and Social) have been omitted from this discussion, but the underlying premises are summarized below.

Basic Needs

Bloch begins by assuming as given certain "basic needs" for every individual. For example a child will have needs for food and physical care. The way adults around him respond to these needs develops in the child proper social patterns through which his needs can be expressed and satisfactory means brought to bear on them. Hence, in the acquisition of basic needs each individual also acquires an organization of what we can call social needs and means. It is from this assumption of basic needs expressed through social patterns that Bloch begins his theory.

The Interdependence of the Individual and Society

Bloch's next fundamental premise is that the individual and society are considered to be continually interdependent. On the one hand an individual's behaviour expresses his social environment. On the other hand the social environment is the product of interacting group members. Hence we must never study the individual and social conditions as isolates from each other. For this reason, Bloch's theory is composed of a social phase and a personal phase which are related to one another.

Latencies

The pursuit of basic needs involves, in the personal phase, the development of an individual life organization consisting of habits, attitudes, values,

beliefs and personalized expressions of custom. In the social phase folkways, mores and institutional patterns which make up the social organization contribute to the acquisition of basic needs. Moreover, the components of these two related phases reinforce each other. In other words, the folkways, mores and institutional patterns that form a separate social organization are also "inextricably interwoven" with the habits, attitudes, values, beliefs and personal usages common to the life organization of the individual. This reinforcement is exemplified by what Bloch calls "latencies." An individual latency might consist of a cluster of habits and customs which facilitate individual orientation to given social situations. A latency in the social structure includes ". . . those wide-spread social usages and group practices that have enabled the group to adjust to neighboring groups and the remaining elements that comprise parts of the social structure."⁴²

Change and Conflict

At this point Bloch introduces the concept of change to his theory. To remain consistent he develops the concept in two ways. There can be personality change brought about by organic shifts in the human organism, or by "psychological or sociocultural factors." As well there may be changes in the social structure. Especially important here are changes in group structure and changes due to cultural innovations. These changes can work in two ways. They may result in further reinforcement between the individual life organization and the social structure, or they may result in strain and conflict. If conflict is the result, Bloch thinks it will be revealed in some sort of a crisis situation.

⁴² Ibid., p. 123.

Types of Crises

Types of crises mentioned by Bloch (precipitate, voluntary, and cumulative) are just about what the names imply. Precipitate crises are sudden and unpredicted and are exemplified by unexpected deaths, natural disasters, and so forth. Voluntary crises are the types of crises which individuals court or bring upon themselves. Cumulative crises come about slowly, although they may not be easily predicted. A good example of a cumulative crisis might be the invention and mass production of the automobile and the resulting strains which were incurred by individuals whose attitudes supported the existing sexual mores.

Types of Adaptations

Finally Bloch posits a number of adaptations to the crisis situation. The "Returns" tend to follow the previous norms of behaviour, somehow ignoring the fact that any conflict continues to exist between their present attitudes and the existing social values. The "Innovations" establish a new mode of behaviour which is also accepted within the social organization. "Attacks" is a term used by Bloch to refer to those who attempt to break the conflict situation through delinquency or crime. In the face of conflict, others, called the "Retreats" may either encapsulate themselves or migrate to a new social structure. Finally, others may destroy themselves. These, of course, are the "Suicides."

VII. SUMMARY OF CONVERGENCES

A review of the theories presented above reveals that there are several convergences. On the one hand, these convergences do not warrant the formula-

tion of one broad theory out of all the rest. There is at least one reason for this. Each theory as it stands can be used separately to explain specific kinds of personal and social disorganization, alienation and adaptations. A synthesis of all the theories would necessarily be so general as to be useless for specific explanations. Thus, for example, Durkheim sees religion as a fundamental independent variable in the social system. Individuals who are well integrated to a religious order experience lower rates of suicide. But Parsons explains religion to be a dependent variable. He insists that other "givens" such as the occurrence of uncontrollable events produce both alienation and religious activity. Each explanation is useful in explaining specific kinds of disorganization. A functional synthesis, however, would have only limited analytical usefulness.

On the other hand, such convergences as do exist can provide at least general guidelines for research. The fact that a theory is as yet not profusely specific does not mean that it should be neglected. One of the purposes of research is surely to "fill in" the more general parts of a theory. Therefore, the similarities in the various approaches discussed above have been summarized even though they are of a general nature and they provide the theoretical frame of reference for the present study. Later, for purposes of formulating hypotheses specific references to individual theories will also be made.

This summary of convergences pertains specifically to the following four theoretical areas:

1. the theory of anomie, represented by Durkheim, Merton, and Cloward and Ohlin;
2. the interactionist theory of disorganization, represented by Goffman

and McGee;

3. alienation theory, represented by Parsons and Seeman; and
4. personal and social disorganization theory represented by Bloch.

Bloch's theory will provide the basis for the estimation of convergences.

Basic Needs

No complete convergence can be found among the theories cited on the subject of basic needs. It is only mentioned explicitly by Bloch. There it is significant only as a starting point for a rather more exhaustive theory of disorganization. Basic needs serve to motivate the child through a relationship with the adults around him who serve as mediators between him and his surrounding cultural and social environment. Bloch's discussion thus parallels notions such as that of the "generalized other" -- premises which no doubt implicitly underly the interactionist approaches of McGee and Goffman.⁴³ Nevertheless, the fact that assumptions of motivational beginnings are not included in the other theories does not render them useless.

The Interdependence of the Individual and Society

Although the details of how the individual and society come to be interdependent were only worked out by Bloch and Strauss the assumption of this basic interdependence penetrates each of the other theories. For Bloch, this interdependence necessitates a personal phase and a social phase of disorganization. Elements of this dichotomization can also be found in the other theories. Hence, the theory of anomie is predicated on the assumption (made explicit by Merton) that

⁴³ Anselm Strauss, The Social Psychology of George Herbert Mead (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1956).

the social system breaks down into cultural and social components, anomie being the discrepancy between cultural expectations (held by individuals) and the lack of institutional means for obtaining them. Similarly, Goffman sets the mark's expectations and conceptions of himself over against his failure in his social environment. McGee finds anomie and conflict wherever individuals hold different meanings and values from surrounding groups. Parsons as well posits alienation whenever the personal phase (an individual's expectations) are not congruent with occurrences in the social phase (i.e. natural disasters or uncontrollable events). Finally, although Seeman considers alienation from largely the subjective or psychological point of view his theory must rest ultimately on some premise concerning the interdependence of the individual and society.

Latencies, Change, Crises and Adaptations

The concept of latencies, change, crises and adaptations are again related explicitly only in Bloch's theory while their reasonable facsimiles are implicit in the other presentations of anomie, disorganization and alienation. As a general statement it can be said that each theory begins with a condition of order (or perhaps "organization"), passes through a stage where this order is disrupted, posits a resulting crisis for the system and individuals in it because its component parts are now out of balance, and concludes with either a new synthesis and reorganization giving order again to the system, or a description of common or relatively permanent adaptations to the crisis situation.

Thus, for example, the theory of anomie implicitly assumes a "normal" state where individual expectations are met by satisfactory institutional means.

Change such as economic depression or prosperity or the overemphasis of a cultural goal without similar emphasis on the required institutional means disrupts this state producing a crisis or a condition of anomie. Several adaptations to this crisis were posited including innovation, ritualism, retreatism, rebellion and suicide.

In the case of the interactionist theories, a similar continuum is implied. Goffman's theory logically begins with an individual whose conception of his self seems satisfactory for everyday living. However, as a mark, his self-conception is gradually built up and suddenly deflated. Hence, a crisis ensues especially for the individual, resulting in any of three possible adaptations; being "cooled-out;" "squawking," or turning "sour." Similarly, McGee's theory can be logically prefaced with a normal state of order, that is, where numerous individuals and groups hold common meanings and values. When this condition changes (for example when a religious organization splits over a political issue) the resulting crisis may largely affect the individual (anomie) or the group (conflict).

The assumption of initial order also suits Parsons' theory of alienation and religious motivation. There, the culture enables an individual to bestow meaning on a given object or situation. Some change such as a natural disaster or the occurrence of an uncontrollable event upsets this meaningful relationship, placing the individual in a type of crisis which is accompanied by his hostility towards objects in his environment or what Parsons calls alienation.

Seeman's five categories of alienation as they are described in the objective or sociological sense can each be cast into this order-change-crisis-adaptation continuum. However, little is said by Seeman about the first two components, order and change. Furthermore, Seeman's analysis is limited only to those situa-

tions where alienation (in any of its five psychological varieties, i.e. powerlessness, normlessness, meaninglessness, social isolation and self-estrangement) is the psychological adaptation to the crisis situation existing in the social system.

It should finally be noticed that while a continuum such as the one discussed above appears to be implied by the several disorganization theories, the assumption of a previously existing order or organization is not logically necessary except in the sense of an ideal typology. This enables the discussion of deviations (or the degree of disorganization) from the ideal type of some organized state or condition.

Subjective and Objective Disorganization

It was noted above that each theory implicitly or explicitly assumed the interdependence of the individual and society. This tenet sets the stage for the analytical breakdown of personal and social disorganization into subjective and objective components. Objective personal and social disorganization can thus be used to include such concept areas as the latencies, change, crises and the adaptations. Subjective personal and social disorganization on the other hand refers to the individual attitudes and feelings that can be posited to result from crises. Hence, each of Seeman's five operational definitions of alienation can be seen as the subjective or psychological component of personal and social disorganization. Parsons' theory of alienation, however, contains both the objective and subjective components. There, natural disasters or uncontrollable events were said to produce hostile feelings towards one's environment or alienation. In this case, alienation would represent the subjective component while natural disasters or the occurrence of uncontrollable events would be classed as objective personal and social disorganization. Thus for the purposes of discussion the concepts of objective and subjective aliena-

tion can both be used. Similarly, anomie can be dichotomized into objective anomie and subjective anomia.

The Relationship Between Subjective Personal and Social Disorganization and the Adaptations

Few of the theorists discuss the relationship between the subjective component described above and the various possible adaptations. Merton inferred that feelings of anomia accompany an anomic condition in society and hence are also involved in the adaptations. Similarly, Parsons suggested that subjective alienation (feelings of hostility) are involved in the motivation to religious behaviour.

David Krech and associates have suggested that attitudes consist of three components, namely (a) cognitions, (b) feelings, and (c) action tendencies, which combine into an interdependent system. For this reason

. . . the cognitions of an individual about an object are influenced by his feelings and action tendencies toward the object. And a change in his cognitions about the object will tend to produce changes in his feelings and action tendencies toward it.⁴⁴

In other words, while the effect that attitudes have on social action may differ depending on their valence and multiplexity, they are causally related to the individual's acts.

The subjective component of personal and social disorganization (e.g. subjective alienation and anomia) can be identified as attitudes possessing the characteristics of attitudes described above. (Part of the empirical problem of this study

⁴⁴ David Krech, Richard S. Crutchfield and Egerton L. Ballachey, Individual In Society (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1962), pp. 139-140.

is the determination of attitudes of alienation. This will be accomplished by the measurement of the valences of the cognitive and feeling components.) For this reason, it can be concluded that the subjective component is the independent variable in its relationship with the possible adaptations. Hence, subjective alienation and anomia can be said to cause adaptations such as fanatical religious belief, innovation, "squawking," retreating (either inwardly or by migration out of one's present social environment), suicide and the others mentioned earlier.

In summary, then, what has been concluded here is a relationship between objective personal and social disorganization and subjective alienation and anomia in which the former causes the latter. Similarly, several possible adaptations have been logically posited as the result of objective personal and social disorganization in the long run. Finally, these adaptations have also been assumed to be the immediate result of subjective attitudes of alienation and anomia.

Now that the basic theoretical framework has been summarized, it is necessary to relate such empirical evidence as may already exist so that the theoretical assumptions may be tentatively supported or rejected. The following chapter will provide this information as well as describe the most common empirical methods used in dealing with subjective alienation.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH BACKGROUND

Before any attempt can be made to operationalize and measure alienation or to predict its relationship with rural-to-urban migration it is necessary to review other empirical research. This review is intended to provide (a) a practical understanding of how subjective alienation can be measured, and (b) some empirical evidence to support both the theoretical convergences (in Chapter II) and the hypotheses which they predicate. Specifically, empirical evidence is required concerning the following aspects:

1. the relationship between objective personal and social disorganization and subjective alienation,
2. the probable "sources" of subjective alienation, and
3. the attitude areas which make up the general area of subjective alienation.

There has been a proliferation of research into the general areas of personal and social disorganization and into the specific areas of anomia and alienation. While much of this work is based on a psychoanalytical approach, this chapter will contain only those studies considered to be more sociological in nature.¹

¹ For examples of a more psychoanalytical approach, see Erik H. Erikson, "The Problem of Ego Identity" and other articles in Identity and Anxiety, ed. Maurice R. Stein et al, (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1960); Erich Fromm, The Sane Society (New York: Rinehart, 1955); and Marx's Concept of Man, (New York: Frederick Unger Publishing Co., 1961); Clark E. Moustakas, Loneliness (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1961); and Eric and Mary Josephson, Man Alone (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1962).

I. RESEARCH CONCERNING ANOMIE AND ANOMIA

An article by Leo Srole is typical of recent sociological research in the area of anomie and anomia.² Srole postulated a continuum that would measure "integratedness" of social systems or sub-systems as wholes. In order to name this continuum he used two Greek terms "eunomia" and "anomia." He suggested that the terms could also

. . . be applied to the parallel continuum of variations seen from the "microscopic" or "molecular" view of individuals as they are integrated in the total action fields of their interpersonal relationships and reference groups.³

It must be understood, however, that while Srole felt that his continuum (eunomia to anomia) could be used adequately to measure both integratedness in the social system and integratedness of individual life organization into a social system (the objective and subjective components of disorganization as they have been named in Chapter II), Srole's actual measurement dealt only with the individual or the subjective component.

More concretely, this variable is conceived as referring to the individual's generalized, pervasive sense of 'self-to-others belongingness' at one extreme compared with 'self-to-others distance' and 'self-to-others alienation' at the other pole of the continuum.⁴

This is not to say that Srole's psychological eunomia-anomia entirely

² Leo Srole, "Social Integration and Certain Corollaries: An Exploratory Study," American Sociological Review, vol. 21, No. 6 (December 1956), pp. 709-716.

³ Ibid., p. 710.

⁴ Ibid., p. 711.

leaves out the social system. "In short, the condition is regarded as a variable dependent on both sociological and psychological processes."⁵ Srole then went on to make up a scale consisting of five items which he felt would measure this psychological variable. The items are as follows:

1. There is little use writing to public officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man.
2. Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.
3. In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better.
4. It is hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.
5. These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on.⁶

Having tested the scale, Srole was able to report that it satisfied the criteria of unidimensionality, that is, it measured a single universe of content. However, he admits to several limitations that should be mentioned. Although the items seem to be fairly clear cut the fact that the "anomic" response is always the "agree" response means that any respondent who happens to be feeling particularly "down and out" when he is given this test will score very highly in anomia. In other words, the scale, because of its format, may not actually be differentiating between a psychological anomic condition and, for example, despair. This criticism will be brought up again. Srole thinks that the fact that the scale contains only five items may be a limitation. However, five item scales that are unidimen-

⁵ Ibid., p. 711.

⁶ Ibid., p. 712-713.

sional as this one is, can probably be considered useful. Nevertheless, Srole suggests that each of the five items could be better represented by a series of items comprising sub-scales. Finally, although the scale has been checked for its reliability, only limited tests of validation were carried out on it.

In discussing his findings Srole notes that other unpublished research done by himself and others at Cornell University using his anomia scale or adaptations of it

. . . have established significant connections between this measure of individual anomia and such diverse phenomena as social isolation among the aged, certain specific forms of psychopathology among metropolitan adults, the life threat represented by the exogenous condition of rheumatic heart disease, adolescents living in areas marked by different rates of drug addiction, etc.⁷

The cumulative weight of his own findings and those that he has mentioned provide support for the hypotheses that the subjective component of social and personal disorganization is linked with "interpersonal disfunction in the social realm" or the objective component.

Another careful empirical study of anomia has been done by Dorothy Meier and Wendell Bell.⁸ This study is a continuation of an earlier study done by Wendell Bell.⁹ There Bell discovered that Srole's anomia was inversely related to

⁷ Ibid., p. 716.

⁸ Dorothy L. Meier and Wendell Bell, "Anomia and Differential Access to the Achievement of Life Goals," American Sociological Review, vol. 24, no. 2 (April 1959), pp. 189-202.

⁹ Wendell Bell, "Anomie, Social Isolation, and the Class Structure," Sociometry, vol. 20 (June 1957), pp. 105-116.

. . . the economic status of the neighborhood within which the respondent lived; individual economic status as measured by occupation, income, and education; and the amount of informal and formal group participation. He also reported that older respondents were more likely to be anomic, in this psychological sense, than were younger respondents.¹⁰

Bell's findings set the stage for the development of an index of anomie (in the objective sense).

Meier and Bell began by directing a criticism at Srole's anomia scale which they attributed originally to Gwynn Nettler and which has been already discussed here, namely that it is sensitive only to a generalized feeling of despair. It must be noted, however, that we cannot be entirely sure that the typical response to objective anomie does not, to some extent at least, contain a good deal of what we commonly know as despair. That is not to say that anomia and despair are identical but it does suggest that we should not completely discount Srole's anomia scale simply because it may pick up despair. Regardless, Meier and Bell continue to use Srole's scale.

The Meier and Bell sample consisted of about 700 interviews with males twenty-one years of age or over who resided in one of four census tracts in San Francisco. They found anomia to be inversely related to socio-economic status, inversely related to the class identification of the individual, and directly related to age only for individuals fifty years of age or over. They found anomia significantly but not consistently related with their measure of social isolation.

The young person of low socio-economic status who realistically assesses his position in the class system is less likely to be anomic if he is socially isolated than if he is an active participant. The remainder of the individ-

¹⁰ Dorothy Meier and Wendell Bell, op. cit., p. 189.

uals who identify with the lower or working classes are anomic if they are socially isolated, and are not anomic if they have frequent formal and informal contacts.¹¹

Meier and Bell then go on to construct an "Index of Access to Means for the Achievement of Life Goals" by weighting and cumulating the above four variables which they found significantly related to anomia. In this way they managed to construct an objective measure of anomie in the social system which was significantly related to the psychological variable anomia. This finding lends support to Merton's contention followed in the summary of convergences in Chapter II that the subjective and objective components of anomie are related.

II. RESEARCH CONCERNING OBJECTIVE AND SUBJECTIVE ALIENATION

Turning now to empirical research that has been done under the heading of alienation, we shall consider first a study by Gwynn Nettler.¹² Nettler defined "alienation" in a way commensurate with what Seeman called "social isolation" or the feeling of estrangement from society. He first set up a number of items which he felt would differentiate "alienated" responses from others. Items such as "Do you vote in national elections (or would you if of voting age)?", "Do you enjoy T.V.?", "What do you think of the new model American automobile?", "Do you read Reader's Digest?", "Were you interested in the recent National elections?", "Do you think children are generally a nuisance to their parents?" and "Are you interested in having children (or would you be, at the right age)?" were included

¹¹ Ibid., p. 196.

¹² Gwynn Nettler, "A Measure of Alienation," American Sociological Review, vol. 22, no. 6 (December 1957), pp. 670-677.

in this scale.¹³

Nettler administered this scale to a number of "known aliens" as well as to a random sample. The scale was checked and found unidimensional.

There seems little doubt that this scale measures the dimension of estrangement from our society. The mean score of the known group of "aliens" is 17.05 where possible scores range from 17 (alienated) to 34 (unalienated). The mean score for 515 subjects exclusive of our 37 models is 28.56, SD = 2.92, a highly significant difference.¹⁴

Nettler also found that the scale was correlated with Srole's anomia.

Nettler concluded by suggesting probable correlates with his measures of alienation. They included creativity, mental emotional disorder, altruism, a proclivity to suicide, a proneness to chemical addictions, and a tendency toward criminal behaviour and to be poor marriage risks.

The work of John P. Clark is significant to the present study because it was cast in an agricultural setting.¹⁵ Clark felt that there was an underlying "isolable feature" which ran through all of the various definitions given to alienation (in the subjective sense). When man feels meaningless, powerless or that he doesn't belong or is manipulated or is isolated he essentially feels, according to Clark, that he lacks the means or power whereby he can attain the role which he rightfully feels his own.

The other significant thing about Clark's study is that he tried to measure

¹³ Ibid., p. 675.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 675.

¹⁵ John P. Clark, "Measuring Alienation Within A Social System," American Sociological Review, vol. 24, no. 6 (December 1959), pp. 849-852.

alienation in a specified social system. He felt that the difficulty with Nettler's study (discussed immediately above) was that while we could isolate alienated or estranged individuals we would never be entirely sure what they were alienated from. In other words, to say as Nettler does, that the alienated are people who are estranged or cut off from the popular culture is simply including too much according to Clark. Measuring estrangement from a whole societal culture is too broad a task for any alienation scale. Apparently Clark thinks that feelings of alienation do not generalize across an individual personality.

Therefore, Clark randomly sampled 361 members of a 3,000 member milk marketing co-operative. The items which he used on his alienation scale are listed below along with their scoring system.

- a. Interviewee's statement of who actually own the co-operative. Farm members (0), non-farm business man and others (4).
- b. Interviewee's statement of how much influence he feels he has in the co-operative. Very much (0), quite a bit (1), some (2), very little (3), none at all (4).
- c. Interviewee's statement of how much "say" he feels members should have about how the co-operative is run. Less say (0), about the same (2), more say (4).
- d. Interviewee's statement of the extent to which he feels a part-owner of the co-operative. Very much (0), quite a bit (1), some (2), not very much (3), none at all (4).
- e. Interviewer's rating of the interviewee's feelings of belonging to or identification with the co-operative. Very much (0), quite a bit (1), some (2), little (3), none at all (4).¹⁶

The scale successfully met the qualifications of reliability and unidimensionality.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 850.

Clark found that alienation as he defined it showed a high negative correlation with the member's satisfaction with his organization, a moderate negative correlation with participation and also with knowledge of the co-operative organization. Significant but low correlations were found between alienation and the number of other members known (negative), the number of memberships in other organizations (negative) and the number of visits by organizational officials (positive). No relationship existed between alienation and age, the size of dairy herd (this would probably be a fairly reliable measure of income potential or gross farm income) or years of membership in the co-operative association.

The significance of measuring alienation within a social system such as a co-operative organization stems from the fact that one can draw rather interesting conclusions and suggestions for organizational improvement. The fact that alienation was associated with dissatisfaction with the co-operative operation suggests a basic dilemma for all growing agricultural organizations.

In order to become an effective competitor on the market, a co-operative organization must represent a sizable portion of the suppliers of that market. As market areas have grown, management has felt the need for enlarging co-operatives by merger or by soliciting membership in order to maintain and increase their position of power on the market. Farmer-members, who since the early nineteenth century have been suspicious of "big business," are quick to realize that their individual shares of power are being steadily diminished. Although still believing that they should have a power position in the organization, many apparently feel they have little or no control over the organization's activities.¹⁷

The fact that the relationships between alienation, and participation and knowledge were low led Clark to question the common practise among co-operatives of attempting to increase member satisfaction through educational and public rela-

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 851.

tions encounters with their membership.

Conversely, keeping members satisfied and less alienated seems to give scant assurance of member participation and knowledge, long considered to be cornerstones of the successful operation of co-operatives.¹⁸

Another attempt at defining and measuring alienation was that of Dwight G. Dean.¹⁹ To develop the scale Dean used as his starting point Seeman's classification and description of the five types of alienation. However, Dean selected only three of these to measure, namely, powerlessness, normlessness and social isolation. Dean's conception of powerlessness was much the same as that of Seeman's, basically stemming from the work of Marx. His understanding of the concept normlessness, however, was somewhat different. Dean insisted that there may be two distinct sub-types of normlessness.

The first sub-type, purposelessness, has been noted by MacIver, who has described anomy as 'the absence of values that give purpose or direction to life, the loss of intrinsic and socialized values, the insecurity of the hopelessly disoriented.'²⁰

The second sub-type of normlessness Dean called "Conflict of Norms." Dean's third component, social isolation, also seemed to differ somewhat from Seeman's typology. Dean felt that "social isolation" could be traced from Durkheim's concept of anomie. By "social isolation" Dean meant ". . . a feeling of separation from the group or of isolation from group standards."²¹ Recall that

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 851.

¹⁹ Dwight G. Dean, "Alienation: Its Meaning and Measurement," American Sociological Review, vol. 26, no. 5 (October 1961), pp. 753-758.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 754.

²¹ Ibid., p. 755.

Nettler used the concept to mean a sort of estrangement from popular culture.

Items which served to operationalize Dean's understanding of the three concepts were combined into the sub-scales outlined below.

- Powerlessness:
1. I worry about the future facing today's children.
 2. Sometimes I have the feeling other people are using me.
 3. It is frightening to be responsible for the development of a little child.
 4. There is little or nothing I can do about preventing a major "shooting" war.
 5. There are so many decisions to be made today that sometimes I could just blow up.
 6. There is little chance for promotion on the job unless a man gets a break.
 7. We are so regimented today that there is not much room for choice even in personal matters.
 8. We are just so many cogs in the machinery of life.
 9. The future looks very dismal.
- Normlessness:
1. The end often justifies the means.
 2. Peoples ideas change so much that I wonder if we'll ever have anything to depend on.
 3. Everything is relative, and there just aren't any definite rules to live by.
 4. I often wonder what the meaning of life really is.
 5. The only thing one can be sure of today is that he can be sure of nothing.
 6. With so many religions around one doesn't really know which to believe.
- Isolation:
1. Sometimes I feel alone in the world.
 2. I don't get invited out by friends as often as I'd really like.
 3. Most people today seldom feel lonely.
 4. Real friends are as easy as ever to find.
 5. One can always find friends if he shows himself friendly.
 6. The world in which we live is basically a friendly place.
 7. There are few dependable ties between people any more.
 8. People are just naturally friendly and helpful.
 9. I don't get to visit friends as often as I'd really like.²²

²² A list of scale items and scoring procedures was obtained from Dwight G. Dean, through Robert K. Sommers, formerly Assistant Professor of Psychology, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta.

The scale items were set up in the Likert-type format so that an interviewee could respond to each item in any of five ways; that is he could strongly agree, agree, be indifferent, disagree or strongly disagree.

The scale was pretested and its reliability was shown to be satisfactory for each sub-scale and for the total alienation scale. Nevertheless, it is apparent that the scale has a few shortcomings. In the first place, all of the items in the powerlessness and normlessness sub-scales are what might be called "one-sided" so that the "strongly agree" response is the most alienated response in each case. Items in the isolation sub-scale however are about equally balanced. In four of them the most alienated response is the "strongly agree" response, while in the remaining five the most alienated response is the "strongly disagree" response. Now, theoretically the basic assumptions in the construction of a Likert-type scale such as this one do not strictly dictate that the items be balanced according to the manner of their scoring. In practice, however, one would suspect, for example, that a respondent with a predisposition to agree (or to disagree) might have a high (or low) alienation score regardless of what were his actual feelings on the matter. (Depending on the relationship which the interviewer can establish with his interviewee such predispositions to agree or to disagree are certainly possible.) At any rate it is odd that two of the sub-scales should have questions all of one type while the third, social isolation, has its items equally balanced. One would suspect at least that this would contribute to unwarranted variation in the alienation score.

In the second place, although Dean checked his scale for reliability, he did not report standardizing the scale as to its unidimensionality. This means

that while the items in each sub-scale may not be "double-barrelled" it is quite possible that they did not measure the same, single universe of content. Thus, for example, although Dean included only one central idea to his conception of social isolation, that is, "a feeling of separation from the group or isolation from group standards" the actual sub-scale as it was operationalized may have included items which in fact measure two completely different and distinct ideas.²³

Dean went on to report the inter-correlations between his four sub-scales. They are shown in Table 3.1. He felt that the inter-correlations were sufficiently high to conclude that the sub-scales were part of the same general concept and sufficiently low to suspect that each sub-scale measured some significantly different part of alienation.

TABLE 3.1

INTER-CORRELATIONS AMONG THE ALIENATION SCALE COMPONENTS
(N = 384)

Components	Normlessness	Social Isolation	Alienation (Total)
Powerlessness	.67	.54	.90
Normlessness		.41	.80
Social Isolation			.75

Source: Dwight G. Dean, "Alienation: Its Meaning and Measurement," American Sociological Review, vol. 26, no. 5, (October 1961), pp. 756.

²³ This possibility has been explored empirically in the present study and will be reported. Confer post p. .

Mailed questionnaires were received from 384 respondents located in four wards in Columbus, Ohio. The significant findings are presented in Table 3.2

TABLE 3.2

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN ALIENATION AND
FIVE BACKGROUND FACTORS (N = 384)

Components	Occupation	Education	Income	Age	Rural Community background)
Powerlessness	-.20**	-.22**	-.26**	.14**	-.10*
Normlessness	-.21**	-.18**	-.14**	.13**	-.10*
Social Isolation	-.07	-.11*	-.13**	-.03	-.06
Alienation	-.19**	-.21**	-.23**	.12**	-.10*

* Significant at the .05 level of confidence

** Significant at the .01 level of confidence

Source: Dwight G. Dean, "Alienation: Its Meaning and Measurement," American Sociological Review, vol. 26, no. 5 (October 1961), p. 757.

From Table 3.2 it can be seen that there was a significant, negative association between alienation and socio-economic status, a less significant, negative association between alienation and rural community background and a significant, positive association between alienation and increasing age. Notice, however, that the associations that obtained between social isolation and occupation, education, age and rural community background were neither high nor, in three of the cases, even significant. Notice also that the degree of association in each case was not sufficiently high to enable predictions of ". . . the degree of alienation from the score

on any of the five social correlates measured."²⁴ Such a situation represents a dilemma for the researcher. He cannot be sure whether the levels of association are in fact low but significant, or whether his alienation sub-scales are not reliable, unidimensional or valid. Until these particular sub-scales have been standardized more accurately we must be somewhat cautious about accepting them.

In a study by Leonard I. Pearlin, a partial synthesis of the earlier work by Seeman and Clark (discussed above) was attempted.²⁵ Pearlin attempted to measure only one type of alienation characterized by Seeman, namely, powerlessness. Thus, for Pearlin, alienation involved subjectively experienced powerlessness to control one's own work activities. Using the suggestion of Clark he attempted to measure this aspect of alienation within the context of the social unit or system, in this case nurses in a mental hospital. He found alienation to be inversely related to the amount of interaction between super- and sub-ordinates, inversely related to the achievement of an individual, directly related to the amount an individual worked alone and inversely related to the number of extra work partnerships an individual had with her workmates.

The remaining two studies to be considered here both deal with the question of whether there is a conceptual unity or a conceptual individuality among the various types of alienation. Thus they bear directly on the criticism (earlier voiced by Meier and Bell and by Nettler of Srole's anomia) that anomia and alienation

²⁴ Ibid., p. 757.

²⁵ Leonard I. Pearlin, "Alienation From Work: A Study of Nursing Personnel," American Sociological Review, vol. 27, no. 3 (June 1962), pp. 314-326.

scales (that is, scales that measure subjective psychological alienation or anomia) only manage to "pick up" feelings of despair (or a general psychological feeling state) among respondents and not the distinct types of alienation which they purport to be able to measure.

A. G. Neal and Solomon Rettig developed alienation scales and combined these with Srole's anomia scale and Seeman's status-orientation scale to determine to what degree the first three scales were the same or distinct and if they correlated with status-orientation.²⁶ By factor analysis the authors were able to support the contention that powerlessness, normlessness and Srole's anomia were conceptually different. None correlated with status-orientation.

Finally, Russell Middleton has conducted a study again utilizing Seeman's categories.²⁷ Using one statement per category, Middleton gleaned responses on powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, cultural estrangement, social estrangement and estrangement from work. These were then correlated with each other and against race and education. With the exception of cultural estrangement the correlations between the types of alienation were moderately strong. This suggests that while there may be a basis for differentiating conceptually between the various types of alienation, there still exists some underlying unity.

²⁶ A. G. Neal and Solomon Rettig, "Dimensions of Alienation . . ." American Sociological Review, vol. 26 (August 1963), pp. 599-608.

²⁷ Russell Middleton, "Alienation, Race and Education," American Sociological Review, vol. 28 (December 1963), pp. 973-977.

III. SUMMARY OF EMPIRICAL CONCLUSIONS

This brief review of research literature warrants drawing those conclusions listed below.

Subjective and Objective Components

1. The general concept of disorganization as it is used in sociology has two component parts -- an objective or sociological component and a subjective or psychological component. Chapter II also drew this conclusion from the theoretical literature. There is some empirical evidence to support the conclusion that these two components have a causal relationship.

Sources of Subjective Alienation

2. Empirical research into personal and social disorganization attempted to discover objective alienation-producing variables in the social and cultural structure of a social system. Variables of this kind which have already been discovered included such conditions as old age, low educational levels, low income levels, low occupational status levels, non-farm community backgrounds, dissatisfaction with a social system, low participation levels, low levels of "knowledge of a social system," low interaction levels with one's super-ordinates, low achievement, low numbers of extra work friendships, high incidences of work done alone, low chances of achieving one's goals, and others.

3. It has only been implied that the above variables in the social system produce or cause alienation in individuals. Note that the causal relationships have not been completely established since they were inferred from only correlat-

ional data. Adequate causal proof would involve displaying at least two other properties of the aforementioned independent variables, namely, that they preceded alienation in time, and that they were the necessary and sufficient causes of at least part of the variation of alienation, that is, that both the independent variables (in the social system) and the dependent variable (alienation) were not both caused by some other factor as yet unknown.

The Unity and Diversity of Subjective Alienation

4. Empirical research into alienation has attempted to measure alienation per se and find its psychological correlates (such as anomia). Much of this kind of research has been addressed to the problem of whether or not alienation is measured as a distinct, unique psychological variable or whether these measures only serve to rank people according to their general "state of mind," that is, jubilant or with despair. This question remains largely unsolved, and it may seriously limit the study of personal and social disorganization since it becomes unreasonable to assume that the attitudes of subjective alienation as these are operationalized in a research project are identical or even specifically related to objective disorganization.

Thus it can be seen that by and large, the theoretical convergences received support from previous empirical research. Specific elements of this review will be footnoted as evidence for the hypotheses predicted in Chapter V. However, thus far, it can be concluded that empirical evidence supports the theoretical contention that objective personal and social disorganization, subjective alienation and the various adaptations are causally related.

Normally the review of relevant research would immediately precede specification of the hypotheses tested and explanation of the method used. However, in the present study a short digression has been included in the following chapter to present evidence of objective personal and social disorganization in a rural setting.

CHAPTER IV

THE RURAL SETTING (GENERAL)

Farmers and the farm way of life have in the past enjoyed a certain kind of "respectability" which has not been identified with other social categories. Popular opinion seemed to have it that to farm in a rural community was to pursue the "good" way of life. Statesmen have considered farmers the bulwark of democracy and clergy have heralded the family farm as the foundation stone of "good Christian living." Somehow, agricultural policies have tended to sound more legitimate when it could be said of them that they came from the "grass roots."

More recently farmers have come to be known as "grippers." While at one time farm problems were either not considered or brushed aside inadvertently the difficulties which farmers now experience in living up to the old ethos are first rate governmental issues. This chapter will consider some of the problems that are inherent in the organization of agriculture in the Canadian prairies in general and Saskatchewan in particular. The economic aspects of farm problems will be considered briefly. The discussion will then go on to point up possible latency conflict areas including some of the contradictions between the economic "reality" of farming and the "rural ethos." In other words, the discussion will follow the theoretical pattern set out in Chapter II, by attempting to isolate several of the areas of latencies which in themselves constitute a part of personal and social disorganization and which may lead to crises and hence to alienation. If these are either numerous or particularly significant we may expect to be able to measure and make predictions about alienation among farmers.

I. FARM PROBLEMS

There are at least two ways to approach the discussion of farm problems. We could set up a list of "little difficulties" that farmers typically meet up with and discuss each one as a separate isolated case. The list could no doubt go on ad infinitum, or could perhaps begin to overemphasize the problems that the farm sector of society is exposed to. This approach also would lend itself to the belief that there is nothing inherently wrong with farming and that while farmers do experience an occasional problem here and there these difficulties can be easily cleared up by swift political action or by more adept and skillful measures by farmers themselves, to correct each isolated problem.

Although such a belief does not contradict the rural ethos, it is perhaps not the most accurate understanding of farm problems. We could instead consider the fact that something in the organization of farming leads to the "little difficulties." Such difficulties may be only the outward show of underlying social currents similar to the kind that Emil Durkheim wanted to uncover. This approach will be used here. The discussion will consider only two farm problems, namely, low income and economic insecurity.

Evidence of Two Farm Problems

Farm incomes are hard to measure and they are difficult to compare with the incomes of other occupational categories. However, such comparisons as have been made indicate that farm incomes are generally lower than non-farm incomes. For example, Charles Schwartz has noted that in 1958 the Saskatchewan agricultural labour force amounted to 47 per cent of the total Saskatchewan labour

force while the proportion of the total Saskatchewan personal income accruing to agriculture amounted to only 20 per cent.¹ This inequality becomes somewhat more severe when allowance is made for the fact that most farmers also have a relatively high capital investment.

The insecurity of farm incomes can be seen in the wide annual fluctuations of the net value of agricultural production. Again, the analysis done by Schwartz provides this evidence for Saskatchewan agriculture. Annual percentage changes in the net value of Saskatchewan agricultural production for the years 1951 to 1959 inclusive were as follows: +16 per cent, -18 per cent, -64 per cent, +121 per cent, +22 per cent, -53 per cent, +11 per cent, +6 per cent. The overall change for the same period amounted to -51 per cent.²

Low farm incomes. There are, perhaps, several reasons why farm incomes are generally low, but certainly the most important of them can be traced to the organization of the industry. Three factors that contribute to low incomes are outlined below.

1. The settlement pattern established around the turn of the century has proven inadequate. W. M. Drummond and W. Mackenzie have noted that
in the Prairie Provinces the pattern of land holdings set by the homestead legislation proved ill adapted to the variations in the productivity of land in different parts of the Prairie region and the emerging mechanical means of efficient crop production.³

¹ Charles Schwartz, The Search for Stability (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1959), p. 29.

² Ibid., p. 23.

³ W. M. Drummond and W. Mackenzie, Progress and Prospects of Canadian Agriculture, Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects (Ottawa: Canada: The Queen's Printer, January 1957), p. 362.

This inadequacy has had two kinds of repercussions on farming. In some parts of Saskatchewan adequate income can only be received when the achievement of large farm scale permits more efficient production. Consequently, the "scramble" for land among farmers has artificially raised its price to a point where the capital investment required for land purchases artificially decreases subsequent income. In other cases, farmers have found themselves located on "submarginal" land, that is, relatively unproductive land which seldom yields a satisfactory income even under expert management.

2. Rapid technological change and the drive towards efficiency among farmers has, oddly enough, produced low incomes. There are, perhaps, several reasons for this. In some instances, technological change has been so rapid as to leave many farmers, who were reluctant to change their farming techniques, at a considerable disadvantage in their productivity, and hence in income potential. By modern standards we tend to label this kind of farmer a "poor manager," but often the farm operator does not willfully set himself against increasing efficiency and technological change. Innovations, after all, are not free. There are, in fact, numerous blocks to carrying out an efficiency drive on any one farm. Acquisitions of land within a reasonable distance are not always possible and often the cost would be prohibitively high. Because of the general low nature of incomes and the relative instability of farm incomes, banks have never found it a good policy to extend to farmers the large amounts of credit necessary to adopt improved production techniques or purchase parcels of land. Similarly, federal credit policies for farm improvement have not been entirely effective.

The pressures on any one farmer to improve his efficiency or adopt new

technology are extremely high. To understand this urgency it must be realized that farming is a highly competitive business.

Agriculture in Saskatchewan is an industry of small units. The family farm predominates, with no single farm unit large enough to affect to any marked degree the over-all output of any given farm product. In this respect agriculture stands in marked contrast to the centralized and integrated urban industries as we know them today. In a most elemental sense, agriculture is one of the few remaining examples of a perfectly competitive economy, as described in the economic textbooks.⁴

In an atomistic industry such as this one, no single producer has any significant amount of market control. The variation in the amount that he alone can supply to the market has virtually no effect on the resulting price. Thus it is of no use to the farmer to restrict his own supply in order to raise market price. Nevertheless, most farmers are interested in obtaining a maximum or at least a reasonable amount of income. The farmer's only other alternative, therefore, is to maximize his production relative to his costs. For most farm managers this economic "principle" is simply operationalized by maximizing production each and every year.

Any method which a farmer can use to increase his production potential is not only "fair game" but is usually looked upon as the only moral and ethical thing to do. It is within this context that technological improvements are set. Generally, a major change in farm technology serves to increase production. The use of it by one farmer will usually give him a tremendous advantage over his competitors in production and hence in income potential. The use of it by a majority of farmers will usually shift the economic basis of farming so completely that those who have not yet adopted the new item are virtually forced to do so if they desire

⁴ Schwartz, op. cit., p. 25.

a substantial income.

There may also be instances where the adoption of an item of new technology does not serve to raise income although it may raise productivity. Already mentioned is the case where the new item's cost is greater than the farm unit can withstand without depressing subsequent income.⁵

3. Finally, the greatest single factor producing low farm income is often said to be the "cost-price squeeze." This is a term which refers to the general trend of rising farm costs and decreasing farm product prices.

Again, it will be a basic assumption of this discussion that the "whys" of the "cost-price squeeze" are rooted deeply in the organization of the industry. It has already been noted that farm prices remain beyond the control of individual farmers. It has also been seen that to maximize income each farmer simply tends to produce as much as he can each year. As well, recall that rapid technological change has remarkably increased farm productivity. In other words, farm supply potential has increased considerably and farmers attempt to realize this potential each year.

Effective demand for farm goods, on the other hand, has remained relatively unchanged. In the short run, the demand for food is constant. In the long run, the most significant demand shifter is population increase and most of this

⁵ Contact with farm managers would lead one to suspect that often farmers do not consider the adoption of a new item from the point of view of the item's usefulness to the whole farm operation but only with respect to the item itself. There, the primary consideration is often whether or not the new item is suitable to the status which the farmer feels he holds or hopes to hold in his rural community.

increase has taken place in countries that are not financially capable of purchasing Canadian farm products. The outcome has been for supply to outstrip demand for most Canadian farm products. Under these circumstances price has, of course, declined.

Turning now to the cost of things farmers buy, the industries from which farmers purchase goods and services, in the more important instances, are nowhere near perfectly competitive. Members of these industries have the advantage, over farmers, of being able to reduce supply in order to maintain or increase prices so that their incomes are assured. It must be remembered that farming is an atomistic industry and hence individual farmers have virtually no control in either their buying or their selling markets.

Income insecurity. The second basic farm problem to be considered here is that of income insecurity. Again the basic tenet holds that this problem stems from the organization of agriculture.

1. Income insecurity may result in the first place from variations in output that are "unplanned." In the case of wheat, for instance, Drummond and Mackenzie report that "although a considerable amount of work has been done in studying the causes of yield variations, no reliable basis has yet been discovered for predicting the occurrence of good and bad seasons. There is an unavoidable risk."⁶ Given a certain quality of land, yields often vary in proportion to the amount of rainfall over the summer growing season. However, other factors may completely obliterate this relationship. Inability to purchase insecticides, for

⁶ Drummond and Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 365.

instance, (through a supply shortage or financial embarrassment) can result in substantial losses. Nor are the livestock or poultry industries completely immune from unplanned output variation. Epidemics have been known to wipe out complete herds or flocks, and recent intensification of these industries has in part served to make the potential of these diseases more devastating.

2. The second major source of income insecurity stems from the nature of the supply and demand for farm products. Farmers, like other producers, tend to regulate their production in relation to the price level of their product. Farmers in aggregate, unlike other industries, almost always overshoot the mark in their production responses. We have already noticed the reason for this. In a highly competitive industry such as farming each individual producer makes his decisions concerning what and how much to produce, independently from his competitors and with virtually no knowledge of their production plans.

In the production of many farm products, this tendency to overshoot the market in production responses tends to be magnified by what is called the "agricultural lag." This term refers to the fact that there is a time lag between the farmer's initial decision to increase production and the time when his product will come on the market. For grain crops, the agricultural lag may be as short as five or six months, while for many livestock products the agricultural lag may extend up to several years. Thus, while it may become obvious to individual producers half way through their production cycle that the profitability of the particular product they are producing is quickly decreasing, almost nothing can be done to curtail production. Consequently, they may suffer a severely reduced price and hence a reduced income by the time their product comes on the market.

Several of the essential characteristics of the farm industry have been incorporated into a theorem which states that the extreme variations in farm price and output are in fact inherent to the organization of the industry. This analysis is a modification of the "cobweb theorem of commodity price variability" and while it is not the place here to discuss the cobweb theorem, suffice it to say that it provides a careful theoretical explanation of the variability in farm prices based on the empirically observed inelasticity of supply and demand for farm products.⁷

A Recapitulation

We now have some understanding of the organization of the farming industry and some of the problems inherent in the production of agricultural products in Saskatchewan. But the main interest for the present study is with disorganization. Is there some reason to suspect that the organization of agriculture has significant elements of personal and social disorganization which, in fact, produce psychological alienation? In other words, if there are latencies in farming, what are they and have they produced conflict and crises, subjective disorganization and adaptations?

II. OBJECTIVE PERSONAL AND SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION

Powerlessness

The theories discussed in Chapter II suggest that powerlessness would be found wherever an individual who made emotional investments in a given act failed

⁷ Willard W. Cochrane, Farm Prices: Myth and Reality (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1958), pp. 60-84.

to control his situation. Almost by definition it has been shown that the farmer's position is a powerless position. True, when things are "going for him" the farmer wields a good deal of power. Surely when one controls thousands of dollars of investment and large acreages of land, one must be powerful. Nevertheless, it has been shown that the organization of the farm industry virtually dictates what each farmer will do with his land and other capital investment if he intends to have a satisfactory income. Further, the individual farmer is powerless to correct the problems which confront him. Farmers who suffer low income are "caught up" in the ravages of an inadequate settlement program, rapid technological advance, and the trends of rising costs and decreasing prices -- problems which are all industry-wide. When individual farmers try to "beat" their low income problems by increasing their production, the cumulative effect even works against them by further decreasing prices and incomes.

Prairie farmers have also experienced powerlessness through a general lack of governmental control, especially at the federal level. That is not to say that prairie farmers are numerically under-represented in Parliament. The populations of rural areas have declined much more rapidly than has rural representation in the House of Commons. Saskatchewan, for example, in 1961, still had seventeen Members of Parliament, while only thirteen were warranted by its population. Nevertheless, federal agricultural policy is replete with examples of bitter struggles by prairie farmers. Just such a struggle is typified by the early work of Reverend James Moffat Douglas, Member of the House of Commons for East Assiniboia, for several years around the turn of the century. (At that time the constituency of East Assiniboia was approximately identical to the whole south-eastern

section of Saskatchewan.) During Rev. Douglas' term of office there was considerable agitation among farmers for protective legislation against injustices by railway and elevator companies and the Grain Exchange in grain marketing. As early as 1898 Rev. Douglas moved First Reading of his Private Member's Bill in the House of Commons which many years later, after several revisions, turned out to be the well known Manitoba Grain Act. Even though the Bill was well conceived and later proved to be effective in action, it took Rev. Douglas session after session of constant agitation in Parliament before the Bill was ever made law. The problem was this -- Rev. Douglas was a Liberal, and so was the party in power. But Rev. Douglas was not strictly speaking a Government member. Rather he was an Independent Liberal sitting on the Government side. This meant that his Independent Bill did not even have Government sanction and his own Liberal colleagues year after year successfully thwarted his attempts to have it passed.⁸ Similarly, the history of the Canadian Wheat Board is another example of federal agricultural policy which went by default until the situation had become so intolerable as to force governmental action.

The above discussion does not intend to insist that farmers felt entirely helpless in coping with farm problems. The whole agrarian "revolt," the formation of co-operatives and the formation of various political parties, serves to show that farmers "came out fighting."⁹ Lipset sums up the position held here when he

⁸ Louis Aubrey Wood, A History of Farmers' Movements In Canada (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1924), pp. 159-160.

⁹ Examples of the agrarian "revolt" can be found in such works as: R. D. Colquhoun, The First Fifty Year (Winnipeg: Public Press Limited, 1957); Seymour

says that

. . . the first three decades of the twentieth century witnessed the creation of a powerful, organized, class-conscious agrarian movement in Saskatchewan. The wheat farmer, who was situated at the producing start and the consuming end of a highly organized and often monopolistic distribution system, became convinced that he, as the primary producer of wealth, was being exploited by "vested interests." He developed hostile class attitudes to big business, to the newspapers, which he believed served "interests," and to merchants. As a result, a large portion of the farming population supported an agrarian socialistic program designed to eliminate private profits by governmental and co-operative action, before an explicitly socialist party appeared on the scene.¹⁰

The development of purchasing co-operatives is a good example. The farmer was not only concerned about "vested interests." He was also concerned about getting rid of "middle men," both in his selling and in his purchasing markets. The formation of purchasing co-operatives in Western Canada seems to have gone on in the face of extreme opposition. MacIntosh reports that

. . . the whole co-operative purchasing movement has been bitterly opposed by retail and wholesale merchants The Retail Merchants' Association instituted a boycott of wholesalers selling to co-operative associations which did not incur all the costs of a retail store. Selling to these associations is looked upon as encroachment by wholesalers in the retail field. Manufacturers have refused to sell to the central companies and even the anti-dumping clauses of the Canadian Tariff have been invoked against co-operative purchasing.¹¹

M. Lipset, Agrarian Socialism (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1950); W. A. MacIntosh, Agricultural Co-operation In Western Canada (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1924); Hopkyns Moorhouse, Deep Furrows (Toronto: George L. McLeod Limited, 1918); Harald S. Patton, Grain Growers' Co-operation In Western Canada (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928); Paul F. Sharp, The Agrarian Revolt In Western Canada (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1948); and Jim F. C. Wright, Prairie Progress: Consumer Co-operation In Saskatchewan (Saskatoon: The Modern Press, 1956).

¹⁰ Lipset, op. cit., p. 71.

¹¹ W. A. MacIntosh, Agricultural Co-operation In Western Canada (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1924), p. 136.

Nevertheless, it would be inaccurate to see agrarian co-operation and agrarian socialism as the utopian cure-alls of prairie farmers' problems. Even in Saskatchewan where these two movements have had reasonable success, it has become apparent that the economic and political systems are much bigger than either one of them. Thus, while co-operatives have had success in removing localized abuses in the various buying and selling markets, they must still work within the economic organization of these markets, and in many cases have little or no control over them. Similarly, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (C.C.F.) has had a good deal of success legislating for the Province of Saskatchewan but has met insurmountable barriers whenever the Canadian economy or the Canadian political system has to be taken into account. Furthermore, in the case of co-operatives, membership has expanded tremendously. This, of course, has increased co-operatives' power in the market place but it has made each individual member less significant. A large co-operative's biggest difficulty, perhaps, is keeping its membership sufficiently educated and interested to take part in the co-operative enterprise.

Anomie and Meaninglessness

Whenever the individual's normal expectations are frustrated, there exists, according to the theory in Chapter II, an anomic or normless situation. In another sense there also exists a meaningless situation inasmuch as the individual's cultural frame of reference does not adequately explain or give meaning to the frustration. These two types of latency conflicts are perhaps best illustrated in Saskatchewan's farm industry by the type of rural ethos that has developed.

Early settlement in Saskatchewan seems to have been carried out with an air of enthusiasm and unlimited opportunity. Indeed, during its period of settlement the Canadian West even came to be known as "the last best West." Stories of individual pioneering efforts point up this vigorous pioneer spirit. Emil Julius Meilicke recalls

. . . the following day the breaking plows commenced to turn the sod. It was a sight to be seen, as the white leached grass lay in contrast to the black furrows, stretching out a straight mile in length. Our own family was enthusiastic beyond bounds over the wonderful prospect this wide country offered, and this feeling spread as the others began to see the results of their work. These settlers from Minnesota were a group of the finest. While they worked hard, they lent each other a helping hand. They possessed the determination and courage necessary to meet the new and often very trying conditions.¹²

An unstructured interview with an elderly farmer in connection with the present study revealed a similar situation. At one point the interviewee recalled that

Things have sure changed. You know, when we came out from the Old Country, we were really going to do things. I only had one oxen and a cart. That didn't seem to matter. It was the spirit of the thing that counted most. We left because we didn't like it back home and we really thought we could build some sort of a utopia here in the West.¹³

The typical Saskatchewan rural ethos began with "pioneering enthusiasm" but a good deal of its development can be traced back to agrarian reaction to the many economic and social grievances which farmers had to put up with. Lipset's thesis seems most plausible at this point. His quotation, cited earlier, clearly points up the fact that farmer's formed a "powerful, organized, class-conscious,

¹² Emil Julius Meilicke, "The Story of Dundurn," in Saskatchewan Harvest, ed. Carlyle King (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1955), pp. 92-98.

¹³ Excerpts from an interview with a farm interviewee in the study area, July, 1963.

agrarian movement in Saskatchewan, " based on their antagonisms towards "vested interests."¹⁴ It is easy to realize that farmers bent on developing a utopian system would not take abuses from the likes of elevator companies, the railways, and even provincial and federal governments without bitter resentment and organized opposition.

Perhaps the best description of the way farmers felt about their situation is given us by Moorhouse, who as a past official of the United Grain Growers Grain Company held strong sympathies for the farm "cause" and whose writings were especially cogent.

Yes, a whole flock of tin roosters have rusted away on the top of the barn since the Farmer first began to consider himself the Rag Doll of Commerce and to seek adjustments. It is the privilege of rag dolls to survive alot of abuse; long after wax has melted and sawdust run the faithful things are still on hand and along about crop time the Farmer finds himself attracting a little attention.

That is because his business of backbone farming is the Backbone Business in General. As long as money is circulating freely Business in General, being merely an exchange in values, wears a clean shirt and the latest cravat but let some foreign substance clog the trade channels and at once everything tightens up and squeezes everybody.

Day by day the great mass of the toilers in the cities go to work without attempting to understand fluctuations of supply and demand. They are but cogs on the rim, dependent for their little revolutions on the power which drives the machinery, that power being Money Value. Any wasteage must be replaced by the creation of new wealth, so men turn to the soil for salvation — to the greatest manufacturing concern in the world, Nature Unlimited. This is the plant of which the Farmer is General Manager.

On state occasions, therefore, it has been the custom in the past to call him the "backbone of his country" -- its "bone and sinew." Without him, as it were, the Commercial Fabric could not sit up in

¹⁴ Lipset, op. cit., p. 71.

its High Chair and eat its bread and milk. Such fine speeches have been applauded loudly in the cities, too frequently without due thought -- without it occurring to anyone, apparently, that perhaps the Farmer might prefer to be looked upon rather as an ordinary hard-working human being, entitled as such to "a square deal."

But all these years times have been changing. Gradually Agriculture has been assuming its proper place in the scheme of things. It is recognized now that successful farming is a business -- a profession, if you like -- requiring lifelong study, foresight, common sense, close application; that it carries with it all the satisfaction of honest work well done, all the dignity of practical learning, all the comforts of modern invention, all the wider benefits of clean living and right thinking in God's sunny places.

And with his increasing self-respect the New Farmer is learning to demand his rights, not merely to ask and accept what crumbs may fall. He is learning that these are the days of Organization, of Co-operation among units for the benefit of the Whole; that by pooling his resources he is able to reach the Common Objective with the least waste of effort.

He has become a power in the land.¹⁵

The work of Colquette extends the image of farmers collectively beating off their oppressors to make a place for themselves in "God's sunny places."

The Grain Growers' Movement, which sprang up early in the century, was not fathered and fostered by a race of poverty stricken peasants. For the most part it's leaders and members were well established and strong going farmers . . . they were farmer-citizens taking the lead in a free democracy and demanding and securing consideration for the rights of themselves in the economic class of producers to which they belonged.¹⁶

The Saskatchewan rural ethos is not without its Christian element. Peter Gzowski has given us this impression in a recent MacLean's article.

. . . Saskatchewan always seemed to me more publicly Christian -- at least more publicly Protestant -- than any other place I had known.

¹⁵ Moorhouse, op. cit., pp.14-15.

¹⁶ Colquette, op. cit., pp. 7-8.

I don't mean necessarily that more people went to church (although that is possible too), but that the churches seemed to play a more important role in public life.¹⁷

Gzowski goes on to say the Saskatchewan breed of protestantism seems to be different than other kinds inasmuch as it stems, he feels, from the early prairie Methodist teaching which suggested that true Christians ought to be as concerned about a man's physical wellbeing as about his spiritual wellbeing.

Further, an official United Church publication states that "in times past they /the rural churches/ were the backbone of the church, providing spiritual power, moral conviction and candidates for the ministry."¹⁸ In the same issue a prairie minister has carried on in the typical agrarian tradition, on the one hand building up the ethos of the "good farm life" and on the other hand lamenting its downfall due to economic pressures.

The big farm, with its big machinery and its huge operations, can produce big crops and sometimes make a profit at world wheat prices. The family farm yields so much in individual development, community and church life, it farms the land more thoroughly using its resource more fully but it cannot survive without a wheat crop, it cannot continue to grow wheat at world market prices when expenses are increased by Canada's inflated economy.¹⁹

Finally, the ethos in its "antagonistic" form is expertly set forward with its emotional overtones by Bruce Hutchison.

. . . too much wheat, they say, too much wheat say the slick, well-fed men in the Chateau Laurier. Too much wheat say the clever men

¹⁷ Peter Gzowski, "Report From The Changing Heartland of Canada," MacLean's, vol. 77, no. 14 (July 25, 1964), p. 10.

¹⁸ Board of Evangelism and Social Service, United Church of Canada, Close The Chasm (Toronto: The United Church Publishing House, 1962), p. 260.

¹⁹ Rev. W. F. Clarke, "Family Farms And Two-Price Wheat," ibid., p. 216.

in the East Block. Too much wheat, say the frantic men in Parliament. Too much good food here on our rich prairie earth.

The farmer pauses there is his field, in the dust of his fallow land, and looks across the rippling sea of grain with the tinted yellow in it and he is sick at heart. He has grown the wheat, he has performed the real miracle, done the real job, and clever men, who have done nothing but talk, tell him that he is foolish and wrong to make the land yield. The farmer is baffled by the smooth talk of the clever men, the shrieks of the crazy man, but with an instinct deeper than their wisdom and their lunacy he knows that his land was made, between the mountains and the lakes, made by the patent chemistry of nature through millions of years, to bear, to produce, to feed hungry bellies.²⁰

These few illustrations serve to sketch what might be called a Saskatchewan rural ethos. While we do not know exactly what this ethos contains, the above quotations do point up several of its more important tenets. Beginning with a pioneering vigour, typical of prairie settlers who felt themselves to be building a nation and perhaps a utopia as well, and developing, through antagonisms to various enemies of the farmer, into a class-conscious agrarianism, this ethos can be seen to have at least the following four content areas. First, farming is thought to be "the good life." Perhaps it is "good" because it is said to be more truly Christian. After all, the farmer is "closer to nature" and he lives in "God's sunny places." Accompanied with this "good life" idea is a sense of "Christian responsibility" among farmers. As well, farm life is supposed to be "good" because it is the "best place to bring up children." Second, the ethos states that farmers make an "honest" living, from "the good earth." This idea was perhaps especially developed during the period of antagonisms. It seems to suggest that while other occupations may have to "cheat" and "chisel" to obtain a satisfactory income, farmers can do very

²⁰ Bruce Hutchison, "Father's Plow" in Saskatchewan Harvest, ed. Carlyle King (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Limited, 1955), pp. 86-89.

well and at the same time be somehow more honorable and respectable by growing things. Third, farm and rural life is seen as the "foundation stone" of both democracy and the economic system. From exponents of the ethos we often get a simple picture of farmers, like Atlas, holding the world up. Finally, the ethos spells out the notion that farmers "feed the world," and this serves to place them in the position of the "beneficent giver," who, with unsurpassed kindness, passes out the produce of his labour. (Of course, numerous Christian assumptions predicate this fourth content area.)

Returning to the problem of personal and social disorganization, we find that this rural ethos is literally "loaded" with contradictions or potential latency conflicts. That is not to say that every farmer suffers the frustrations of normlessness. While the myth is being proclaimed loudly, everything probably runs very smoothly. However, the reflective farmer may encounter some difficulties. For example, although the ethos says rural life is "the good life" and a "good place to live" farmers continually find themselves bringing their amenities and facilities up to date with urban standards. It is generally conceded that cities have better schools, better hospitals, higher standards of living, better cultural facilities and so on. Perhaps during the period of settlement rural life was "good" and "complete" but times have changed and, while we have no basis for arguing the goodness or badness of rural life compared to urban life, it is a fact that rural life is incomplete. Modern farmers find themselves going to the city for almost everything. Most rural centres, regardless of size, aspire to be more urban in their way of life. Here then is one area of contradiction or latency conflict between the normal expectations and the cultural system or frame of reference which far-

mers derive from their rural ethos and the way the social system actually operates.

The second content area of the rural ethos, namely that farming is an "honest" living, is more or less adequately contradicted by the level of income accruing to farmers at any given time. As prices fall and costs increase and income becomes smaller, it becomes apparent that for many farmers, while the income is "honest" it is not adequate for them merely to pursue an honest way of life. It becomes necessary for them to "scrimp" and save, a pastime which, they come to agree, surely no "honest" person in "God's green earth" need engage in over an extended period. Then too, it must be recalled, the ethos has held up the farmer's honesty over against the relative dishonesty of his oppressors. But the Saskatchewan farmer's tendency to find out about the rest of the world has been discouraging to this part of the ethos inasmuch as he has found out that many of his supposed oppressors are not dishonest -- only engaged in a different enterprise.

The idea of farmers as the foundation of democracy and the economic system is contradicted constantly. From the beginning, farmers have had bitter struggles to receive agricultural policy that suited them. The case of Rev. James Moffat Douglas has already been cited. As well, while agriculture is said to be over-represented in the House of Commons, the total number of Members who are elected solely by farmers is so small that virtually no Canadian politicians aside from those running in completely rural constituencies are especially worried about gaining farm votes. Voting strength in the urban centres concentrated in Eastern Canada is usually quite sufficient to insure any national party an adequate government majority. In the case of farming being the foundation stone of the economic system, it can be pointed out that while farming may be considered a primary

industry (along with fishing, for example) the total production of farms as a proportion of Canada's total production, ranked only third in 1955. Then too, as farm populations continue to decline, the contradiction is made more obvious. If farmers are in fact holding up the Canadian economy and Canadian democracy, certainly fewer and fewer of them are doing it.

Finally, the notion that farmers feed the world can be considered a self-contradiction built into the rural ethos. Almost from the beginning, the trend in agriculture has been to produce more food than can be satisfactorily distributed among consumers at a reasonable return to the producer. But at the same time thousands of people the world over starve every day. Much of the early agrarian revolt was aimed exactly at correcting the causes of this dilemma. At least in part the efforts begun by farmers to set up the Canadian Wheat Board can be seen as an attempt to get prairie food to hungry people. The contradiction is best seen when it is realized that while these early agrarian efforts were sincerely, the problems of over-supply and starvation are still with us. In fact, they are more severe than ever. At least in this respect the "agrarian revolt" failed. Perhaps farmers did in fact think that the products of their "agrarianism" (e.g. the various co-operatives, the Canadian Wheat Board, and the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation) would be cure-alls to all farm problems. We have already discussed why this was impossible. The fact that organized farm agitation has not resolved the basic farm problems (which stem from the organization of the farm industry and have been cited above) is a continuing potential latency conflict and a possible element of personal and social disorganization in any rural community.

Another form of meaninglessness. Another possible source of personal

and social disorganization as outlined in Chapter II would exist whenever the meaning and values held by an individual were not reinforced by the meanings and values held by others. This would seem to be a rather common source of personal and social disorganization and farming is probably no exception. As has been mentioned earlier, Saskatchewan farmers are not given to letting issues slide by unnoticed. Recently, for example, they have been involved in a larger issue such as the Saskatchewan Medical Care Insurance Program and a more strictly farm issue such as the proposed Hog Marketing Board. In both cases farmers found themselves on both sides of the fence, often being unable to communicate satisfactorily with each other.

Social Isolation

Social isolation has been defined to exist wherever an individual places high reward value on certain goals which are not highly rewarded by the society at large. Such isolation takes the form of town-country antagonisms, in many rural communities. This has been shown by Jean Burnet to be the case in Hanna.

That active antagonism wanes seems to be borne out by the example of Hanna, but better communication and transportation facilities, the so-called urbanization of farm life, and the impact of drought and depression have all failed to lead to the development of new intimacies and understandings between rural and urban people. Both farmers and townsmen have gained a new conception of their interests as interdependent. Conflict between them has ceased. Nonetheless, the ways of life are distinct, the relationships specific in scope, their few united efforts are the result of expediency rather than a sense of community.²¹

Self-Estrangement

On the basis of this brief outline of the rural ethos and farming generally,

²¹ Jean Burnet, Next Year Country (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1951), p. 156.

one would not suspect that self-estrangement as it has been defined in Chapter II would be significant in the rural community. By and large, the ethos insists that since farming is a "good life" and since it is an "honest" living and since the farmer is in the position of "holding up the world" and the foundation stone of democracy and the economic system he ought to enjoy farming for what it's worth. Some early settlers however, not coming from farm backgrounds and not being especially "steeped" in any rural ethos, no doubt considered farming as a stepping stone to some other urban employment. The experience of 'new farmers' such as these with respect to personal and social disorganization and alienation has never been traced.

Summary

This discussion has very briefly summed up examples of the possible areas of personal and social disorganization that may occur in Saskatchewan farming communities. The reader must recall that these examples in no way prove that personal and social disorganization does in fact exist. Material has been presented which accurately defines the economic and social problem areas of farming. The exact dimension of the rural ethos posited here has only been exemplified and not clearly set out. Only more intensive empirical research can do this job. If, however, the rural ethos exists as it is exemplified here, and if it is internalized by many farm residents, then we can predict that personal and social disorganization does occur in Saskatchewan farm communities.

There is already some indication that personal and social disorganization does occur. Leo F. Kristjanson has reported the results of a survey of 200 town and 300 rural households in a Saskatchewan community. Having already stipulated the

"major problems of today, " each respondent was asked how they could be solved. Over 37 per cent of the town and almost 50 per cent of the farm respondents said that the individual could do nothing. Kristjanson concludes that "They /the respondents/ feel directed by the social and economic forces of society, rather than directors of them."²²

The main body of this chapter has illustrated evidence of objective personal and social disorganization in the rural setting. The theory in Chapter II speculated that a causal relationship exists between objective personal and social disorganization and subjective alienation and the various adaptations. Thus there is now logical evidence upon which the present study can proceed to measure subjective alienation in a rural community and its relationship with rural-to-urban migration. The next chapter will discuss how the measurement took place.

²² Leo F. Kristjanson, "Who Solves What Problems?" Research Review, (Saskatoon: Centre for Community Studies, 1963), p. 42.

CHAPTER V

THE SPECIFIC PROBLEM, RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

I. THE PROBLEM STUDIED

Aside from the theoretical problems involved, the specific problems for the present study can be put into three categories. First, empirical evidence supporting or rejecting the theoretical assumption that objective personal and social disorganization (that is, latency conflict) produces subjective personal and social disorganization (here considered subjective alienation) in a rural setting was desired. While strict causal proof could not be provided within the limitations of the present study, the possibility of significant associations between the two general variables was tested.

Second, the theoretical framework had predicted that subjective alienation produced various adaptations including rural-to-urban migration. Hence this study tested the significance of the association between these two variables.

Third, a counter-check was made on the above two general relationships. Specifically, several tests were made of the significance of the association between objective personal and social disorganization and rural-to-urban migration. This provided evidence for more accurate conclusions concerning the predicted causal relationships between objective personal and social disorganization, subjective alienation and rural-to-urban migration.

Before any of the above relationships could be tested empirically it was necessary to operationalize the concept "subjective alienation" in the rural community to be studied. At the same time, the relationships between this operation-

alization of subjective alienation and other attitude variables such as anomia and satisfaction with one's way of life were also tested.

II. DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLES

Locations and Sizes

A basic sample consisted of male heads of households with farm experience. It was broken down into two sub-samples in certain parts of the analysis. For purposes of discussion, therefore, this major analytical division will be adopted from the beginning. The discussion will thus consider a sample of farm residents and a sample of migrants. (To adhere strictly to proper methodological terminology the word "sample" as it is used here must be understood to be a "selected sample," not a "random sample," of male heads of households with farm experience who presently reside in rural areas of Saskatchewan or in Saskatoon.)

The farm resident sample was drawn from a rural municipality located in an area approximately sixty miles northwest of Saskatoon. About three-quarters of the area included in the rural municipality was designated as the study area, and an almost total enumeration was made of the farmers who resided on farms and in the towns included in the area. The sample consisted of 187 farmers. Although completely accurate data is not available, the size of the sample represents well over 90 per cent of all the farmers in the designated farm study area. ("Sample" here refers to a "selected" sample of Saskatchewan farm respondents.)

Part of the enumeration of the farmer sample consisted of queries concerning the whereabouts of the individual's father, brothers and sons, as well as of other individuals who may have at one time lived on farms in the district but had since

moved away. Whenever it occurred that the individuals revealed through these questions were presently engaged in an occupation other than farming and were living in the city of Saskatoon, their addresses were obtained and as many of them as possible were interviewed. Thus the location of the migrant sample was the city of Saskatoon, and the migrant sample size was 28. (Three individuals engaged in some occupation other than farming but who were living in either of the two small towns in the study area were also included in the migrant sample. Here "sample" refers to a "selected" sample of Saskatchewan farm migrants to Saskatoon.)

Other Characteristics

Occupational distributions. Both the farmer and the migrant samples consisted of only male heads of households. In the case of the farmer sample, the respondents were, of course, farmers or semi-retired farmers. In the case of the migrant sample, eight of the respondents were professionals, three were business proprietors, seven were engaged in skilled occupations, seven were unskilled workers, and the remaining three were university students.

Comparisons with surrounding areas and the province. It is difficult to know how typical the farm sample area is of the area surrounding it, or of Saskatchewan as a whole. While the farm study area is located in the part of Saskatchewan where grain farming is most commonly practiced, it does border on the mixed farming area which lies to the north. Of course, the border lines are not distinct and it is quite common to find livestock enterprises in the grain farming area. Since the farm study area lies near this border we cannot be sure whether the results can be generalized. For this reason (as well as to describe the study area) a number of

comparisons between the farm study area, its surrounding territory and the whole of Saskatchewan by selected social variables have been carried out.

Table 5.1 illustrates a comparison of ethnic origins. (Comparisons of this sort will also give some indication of the similarity between the interview data and the 1961 Census of Canada.) The farm sample and the migrant sample derived from it can be seen to contain largely three nationalities: a) those coming from the British Isles; b) those from Germany and the Netherlands, and c) other Eastern European nationalities, mostly Ukrainians and Russians. It is perhaps significant that within the farm study area these three nationalities were settled more or less separately: the Anglo-Saxon group in the area to the south, the Germans in the area to the north-east, and the Eastern Europeans in the area to the north-west.

The surrounding territory is represented in Table 5.1 by Census Divisions No. 12 and No. 16. Census Division No. 12 extends directly south of the study area, although it does not include it and can be considered typical of the grain farming area. Census Division No. 16 includes the study area and extends directly north from it. It can be considered typical of the mixed farming area. Census Division No. 12 has a much larger proportion of Anglo-Saxons than Census Division No. 16, while the farm study area seems to lie between the two. The farm study area also has a larger proportion of residents with Dutch and German ancestries than does either Census Division No. 12 or No. 16. The farm study area's rather large proportion of Ukrainians and Russians makes it more similar to Census Division No. 16 than to Census Division No. 12. It is interesting, however, that the farm study area not only is on the border of the straight grain and mixed farming areas, but also has its largest concentration of Anglo-Saxons (more typical of the grain farming

TABLE 5.1

A COMPARISON OF THE STUDY AREAS WITH CENSUS DIVISIONS NO. 12 AND NO. 16 AND WITH SASKATCHEWAN BY ETHNIC ORIGIN*

Ethnic Origins	Study Areas **		Census Divisions***		Saskatchewan***
	Migrant %	Rural %	No. 12 %	No. 16 %	%
British Isles	43	38	54	33	34
Dutch and German	39	32	16	15	23
Other East European	18	26	14	22	24
Scandinavian	0	2	5	8	9
Other	0	3	12	22	10
Total %	100	101	101	100	100
Total n	28	187	15,053	23,784	167,031

* The comparison is based on male farmers only.

** Derived from study interviews, 1963.

*** Derived from 1961 Census of Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, vol. 1, Part 2, 1962.

area) in its southern-most district and its largest concentration of other Eastern European nationalities (typical of the mixed farming area) in its northwest district. Finally, a comparison of the farm study area, and Saskatchewan as a whole, shows the farm study area to be rather typical of the province with respect to distributions of ethnic origins.

Table 5.2 is a percentage distribution of religious preferences. The differences between the farm study area, its surrounding territory, and Saskatchewan,

TABLE 5.2

A COMPARISON OF THE STUDY AREAS WITH CENSUS DIVISIONS NO. 12 AND
NO. 16 AND WITH SASKATCHEWAN BY RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE*

Religious Preference	Study Areas **		Census Divisions***		Saskatchewan***
	Migrant %	Rural %	No. 12 %	No. 16 %	%
Anglican	18	12	10	16	7
Lutheran	7	17	5	10	13
Mennonite Brethren	18	11	4	3	4
Roman Catholic	4	5	20	29	26
Greek Orthodox	0	5	2	4	4
Greek Catholic	4	8	1	6	6
United Church	43	28	46	20	30
Other and None	7	13	12	12	10
Total %	101	99	100	100	100
Total n	28	187	15,053	23,784	167,031

* The comparison is based on male farmers only.

** Derived from study interview, 1963.

*** Derived from 1961 Census of Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics,
vol. 1, Part 2, 1962.

can be explained on the basis of the ethnic origin distribution. However, except for the somewhat higher proportions of Lutherans and Mennonites and the somewhat lower proportions of Roman Catholics, the farm study area seems to be rather similar to the province. Its concentration of Anglo-Saxon Anglican and United Church

members and of German Lutheran and Mennonite members makes it more or less atypical of either Census Division No. 12 or No. 16. Finally, Table 5.2 also shows that Anglican, Mennonite Brethren and United Church members seem to have migrated more than members of any of the other religions.

A percentage distribution of age is shown in Table 5.3. First of all it should be noticed that the proportions in the various age categories are relatively similar for Census Divisions No. 12 and No. 16 and the total Saskatchewan male farm population. The farm study area seems to be a good example of this general condition, although it has a higher proportion of middle-aged male farmers than is the case in either of the Census Divisions or the Province. As was the case for most of Saskatchewan, the farm study area received the largest proportion of its settlers in the first three decades after the turn of the century. By and large, it is the first generation of farmers after settlement who presently own and operate the existing farm units. Second generation males (after settlement) seem to have largely migrated out of the area, even to a greater extent than in the surrounding territory and in the province. That many of these second generation male migrants have turned up in the city is evidenced by the large proportion of younger men in the migrant sample. The fact that there were no males over sixty-five years of age in the migrant sample remains a peculiarity of this sample.

A percentage distribution of formal education can be seen in Table 5.4. Again the farm study sample is similar to the condition existing in Census Divisions No. 12 and No. 16 and in the province. Well over half have only an elementary education or less, while the remaining 39 per cent have either completed high school or taken part of it. Significantly, no farmer in the area had any university training.

TABLE 5.3

A COMPARISON OF THE STUDY AREAS WITH CENSUS DIVISIONS NO. 12 AND NO. 16 AND WITH SASKATCHEWAN BY AGE *

Age	Study Areas **		Census Divisions***		Saskatchewan***
	Migrant %	Rural %	No. 12 %	No. 16 %	%
20 years to 34 years	54	18	28	28	27
35 years to 64 years	46	73	55	55	62
65 years or over	0	10	16	16	11
Total %	100	101	99	99	100
Total n	28	187	8,442	13,581	92,952

* The comparison is based on male farmers only.

** Derived from study interview, 1963.

*** Derived from 1961 Census of Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, vol. 1, Part 2, 1962.

The situation in the migrant sample is reversed. There, only about 20 per cent had no more than an elementary education. Sixty-one per cent have had all or part of their Grade Twelve and over 21 per cent have worked toward or completed their university degree.

Incomes of farmers in the study area seemed to be relatively low, yet widely varied. Those with a gross farm income below \$5,000 amounted to 17 per cent of the total farm sample, 41 per cent had a gross farm income of between \$5,000 and \$9,999, 26 per cent had a gross farm income between \$10,000 and \$14,999, 13 per cent had a gross farm income of \$15,000 or over, and for 3 per

TABLE 5.4

A COMPARISON OF THE STUDY AREAS WITH CENSUS DIVISIONS NO. 12 AND NO. 16 AND WITH SASKATCHEWAN BY FORMAL EDUCATION*

Formal Education	Study Areas **		Census Divisions***		Saskatchewan***
	Migrant %	Rural %	No. 12 %	No. 16 %	%
Up to Grade VIII	18	61	57	67	67
Grades IX to XII	61	39	40	30	31
University or Post-Graduate	21	0	4	4	2
Total %	100	100	101	101	100
Total n	28	187	9,537	15,485	105,581

* The comparison is based on male farmers only.

** Derived from study interviews, 1963.

*** Derived from 1961 Census of Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, vol. 1, Part 2, 1962.

cent of the farmers it was impossible to discover what income they actually did have. While it is perhaps not legitimate to ascertain farmers' net income from gross income figures such as these, if we assume that net incomes amount to about 20 per cent of gross, then it becomes evident that 84 per cent of the farmers in the study area had annual net incomes of \$3,000 or less. The fact that incomes varied considerably from one farmer to the next is exemplified by the fact that 17 per cent of the farmers had gross farm incomes of less than \$5,000 annually, while 13 per cent had gross farm incomes of \$15,000 or over.

Urban incomes ranged from a low of between \$1,500 to \$2,999 to a high of

between \$9,000 and \$11,499 but were less varied than was the case for farm incomes inasmuch as 54 per cent of the migrant sample had annual incomes of between \$1,500 and \$4,999. (Two of the twenty-eight respondents in the migrant sample did not report their income.)

It will be seen in Chapter VI that for the farm study area moderate correlations between organizational involvement and migration and alienation were discovered. Knowing this, it would be reasonable to make comparisons on the degree of organization of the farm study area and any other areas in Saskatchewan for which comparable data exists. Serena Phillet has analyzed voluntary associations in the Saskatchewan Rural Municipality of Biggar No. 347.¹ This municipality is located about sixty miles west of Saskatoon in the grain farming area and as such is more closely associated with Census Division No. 12 in the comparisons already made. Phillet has reported the membership pattern among 141 male household heads in her rural sample and her findings can be seen in Table 5.5(A). Comparable data gleaned in R. M. No. 405 can be seen in Table 5.5(B). Compared to the pattern of memberships in the Municipality of Biggar, membership in the sample area in the Rural Municipality of Great Bend seemed to be skewed more heavily to the zero end of the continuum. While 9 per cent of the respondents in the Biggar Municipality reported belonging to none or just one organization, 19 per cent in the Great Bend sample fell into this category. Similarly, while 29 per cent reported belonging to six or more organizations in the Biggar Rural Municipality, only 16 per cent

¹ Serena Phillet, Participation and Leadership In Voluntary Organizations In A Prairie Municipality (Saskatoon: Centre for Community Studies, 1963, Unpublished Manuscript).

TABLE 5.5 (A)

NUMBER OF REPORTED MEMBERSHIPS, SASKATCHEWAN RURAL MUNICIPALITY
OF BIGGAR #347, 1961

Number of Memberships	Respondents		Total Number of Memberships Reported (Col. 1 x Col. 2)
	Number	Per Cent	
0	2	1	0
1	11	8	11
2	25	18	50
3	21	15	63
4	24	17	96
5	17	12	85
6 or 7	24	17	152
8 or 9	11	8	91
10 to 13	6	4	67
Totals	141	100	615

Source: Serena Phillet, Participation and Leadership In Voluntary Organizations In A Prairie Municipality (Saskatoon: Centre for Community Studies, 1963, Unpublished Manuscript).

fell into the same category in the Great Bend sample. Further, the average number of memberships per respondent in the Great Bend sample was 3.3 while the comparable figure for the Biggar Municipality was 4.4. Perhaps one of the more significant of Phillet's findings was the disparity found in the membership pattern. In the Biggar Municipality it was found that 29 per cent of the respondents (those holding six memberships or more) held almost 50 per cent of the total number of memberships. In the Great Bend sample 29 per cent of the respondents (those holding five memberships or more) held slightly more than 50 per cent of the total number of memberships.

Comparable data for the migrant sample can be seen in Table 5.5(C). Here

TABLE 5.5(B)

NUMBER OF REPORTED MEMBERSHIPS, SASKATCHEWAN RURAL MUNICIPALITY
OF GREAT BEND #405, 1963

Number of Memberships	Respondents		Total Number of Memberships Reported (Col. 1 x Col. 2)
	Number	Per Cent	
0	15	8	0
1	21	11	21
2	39	21	78
3	33	18	99
4	27	14	108
5	23	12	115
6	15	8	90
7	8	4	56
8	3	2	24
9	2	1	18
10	0	0	0
11	1	1	11
Totals	187	100	620

TABLE 5.5(C)

NUMBER OF REPORTED MEMBERSHIPS, MIGRANT SAMPLE, 1963

Number of Memberships	Respondents		Total Number of Memberships (Col. 1 x Col.2)
	Number	Per Cent	
0	9	32	0
1	7	25	7
2	7	25	14
3	1	4	3
4	4	14	16
Totals	28	100	40

the most striking fact is a relative lack of organizational involvement. Fifty-seven per cent of the respondents belonged to one or no organizations and 82 per cent belonged to two or fewer organizations. The average number of memberships per respondent in the migrant sample was only 1.4.

Summary of comparisons. From the above comparisons it can be concluded that the farm study sample is by and large similar to farmers in the belt of transition between the straight grain farming area of the southern and west-central parts of Saskatchewan and the mixed farming area in the northern and east-central areas of the province. Furthermore, the Anglo-Saxon respondents are probably more similar to the farmers in the grain farming districts while the Ukrainian and Russian respondents are probably more likely the farmers to the north and east. This difference may be important to the present study since a significant relationship attained between ethnic origin and subjective alienation in the form of attitudes or normlessness. (Those respondents who had Anglo-Saxon, Dutch or German ancestries also had weaker attitudes of normlessness than those respondents with "Other East European" ancestries (largely Ukrainian and Russian)).

On the basis of age, education and income, there seems to be a rather high degree of homogeneity in the patterns of Saskatchewan farmers. The farm study area reflects the province sufficiently in these variables.

On the basis of organizational involvement, the farm study area appears to be less "organized" than would be expected in a straight grain farming area such as Biggar. As well, leadership seems to be concentrated among fewer people in the farm study area.

Consequently, where the results are specific (for example the possible re-

lationship between level of living and subjective alienation) they can probably only be safely said to apply to the rural areas adjacent to the R. M. of Great Bend. However, wherever the results are more general (for example, the relationship between subjective alienation and rural-to-urban migration) they can be considered reasonably similar to the province-wide situation.

III. RESEARCH DESIGN

The General Design

The study area having been designated, 187 farm interviews were carried out during the months of June, July and August, 1963. A total enumeration of the farm study area was carried out because it was felt that this procedure would permit holding constant certain variables such as the type of farming area, the settlement pattern, the nature of the informal organization of the community or communities as the case may be, and similar variables which might have some effect on alienation and migration but which could not be adequately measured within the limitations of this study. From this interviewing it was possible to discover the names and addresses of most of the former farm residents who had migrated to the city of Saskatoon, and were presently living and working there. Twenty-eight of these migrants were traced and interviewed during the fall and winter of 1963. The general design was predicated on the assumption that the farm area selected would have a high migration rate to the city of Saskatoon. This assumption in fact turned out to be false, and consequently the size of the migrant sample was cut to approximately one-quarter of its anticipated size.

All of the respondents interviewed had farm backgrounds or were presently

farming in the Rural Municipality of Great Bend sample area. Thus there is a sense in which they form one large sample. However, these respondents can also be broken down into two samples on the basis of their occupations. This breakdown was undertaken to facilitate the easy handling of the interview schedules. During the analysis it also permitted the complete removal of the migrant sample, and hence separate analysis for the farm area.

The Interview Schedules

Two interview schedules were used: one to interview farm respondents, the other to interview migrant respondents. Respondents were not forewarned of the interviewer's visit, however, only four outright refusals were encountered.

The migrant sample schedule did not differ in any major respect from the farm sample schedule, but the layout of questions in the migrant sample schedule took into account the fact that the respondents had already migrated to the city. (The farm and migrant interview schedules can be seen in the Appendix.)

The last two pages of each interview schedule contained the items of Srole's anomia scale and Dean's alienation scale. When the interviewer completed the interview schedule to this point he would hand the entire schedule to the interviewee and have him check his replies to each scale item. Whenever the respondent had questions concerning the scale items or whenever the interviewer deemed it necessary to encourage the respondent in order to complete the two scales, interviewers were instructed to make replies which were as non-committal concerning the scale items as possible. Needless to say, this practice introduced some unwarranted bias. In some cases, especially in the farm sample, the respondents were unable to read the scale items. In situations like these the interviewer was

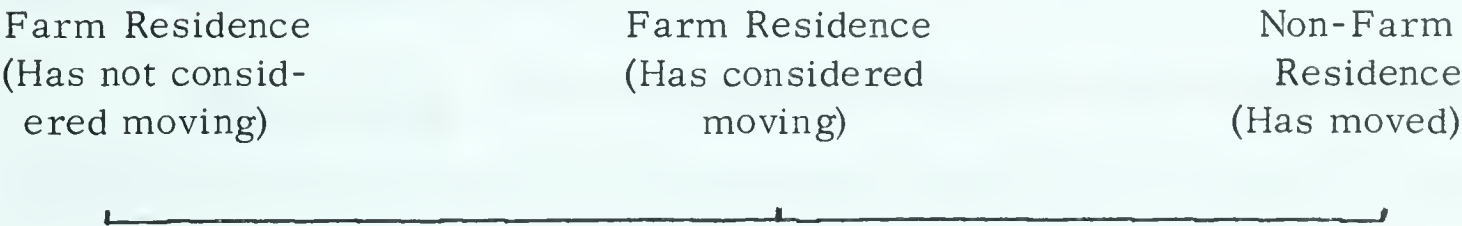
permitted to read the scale items to the respondent, in each case attempting to refrain from influencing the respondents replies through voice intonation or word emphasis. Six interviewers helped to complete the 187 farm interviews. One of these interviewers then completed all of the migrant sample interviews himself.

Measurements

Rural-to-urban migration. Migration from farm to city is usually not a one-step move. In fact, a continuum of migration has been assumed and this can be seen in Figure 5.1.

FIGURE 5.1

CONTINUUM OF PHYSICAL RURAL-TO-URBAN MIGRATION



Therefore, place of residence, qualified by the presence or absence of inclinations towards mobility on the part of farm residents was used as the first measure of rural-to-urban migration.

Of course, migration can be of at least two varieties; physical, where an individual changes his residence and/or occupational where the individual changes jobs. In the case of Hypotheses "A-1" and "C-1" (detailed in Chapter VI) and in strategic other positions throughout the study, this measure of occupational migration was also used. It is shown in Figure 5.2.

FIGURE 5.2

CONTINUUM OF OCCUPATIONAL RURAL-TO-URBAN MIGRATION

Farmer Only	Farmer but with Off- Farm Employment	Non-Farm Occupation Only
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In the case of this second migration continuum, (based on occupation) all of the migrant sample was located in the "non-farm only" position. Two separate questions in the farm interview schedule established whether or not the respondent had off-farm employment, namely

- a) "I would like to know if there is anything else you do besides farm?" and
- b) "What other kind of work do you do?"

Level of living. The rural level of living scale used in this study is a modification of a level of living scale developed by Donald E. Willmott.² Unfortunately, through an oversight in the design of the rural interview schedule, one scale item was left out. The eight items in Willmott's scale are as follows:

1. Do you have a telephone?
2. Do you have a television?
3. Do you have a piano?
4. Do you have a basement or cellar (full or part) with concrete or stone walls and floor?
5. Do you have a furnace, that is, do you have central heating?
6. Do you have running hot water with pipes and faucets?
7. Do you have an indoor toilet?
8. Do you have a private car or station wagon? (If yes) What year is it? _____ (If two cars, record the latest year.)

² Donald E. Willmott, A Level-Of-Living Scale For The Prairies (Saskatoon: Centre for Community Studies, 1962). Unpublished Manuscript.

Item No. 6 was the item which was accidentally eliminated from the rural interview schedule. A respondent was given one point for each "yes" answer, except for Item No. 8 where he scored one point only if the car was the latest model. The simple addition of these points gave the respondent a level of living score.

These original seven items were subjected to scalogram analysis. The special variety used here is known as the Goodenough technique.³ This technique is a modification and improvement of the Guttman technique of scalogram analysis because according to Allen L. Edwards, it

. . . enables us to determine the coefficient of reproducibility in such a way that the coefficient does accurately represent the degree of accuracy with which we can reproduce the responses to statements from total scores alone.⁴

The technique essentially discovers to what extent the scale being tested actually differs from a perfectly unidimensional scale. Unidimensionality is operationally defined here as follows. Given, for example, four items ranked 1 to 4 in the order with which respondents agree with them, and a sample of responses, these four items will be unidimensional whenever respondents agreeing with item 1 also agree with items 2, 3, and 4, respondents agreeing with item 2 and not with item 1 also agree with items 3 and 4, respondents not agreeing with items 1 and 2 but agreeing with item 3 also agree with item 4, and respondents agreeing with item 4 agree with that item only.

The technique involves counting up the number of errors that occur in a

³ Allen L. Edwards, Techniques of Attitude Scale Construction (New York: Appleton-Century-Croft, Inc., 1957), pp. 184-188.

⁴ Ibid., p. 184.

given number of responses for a given set of items and setting this total in relation to the perfectly unidimensional ideal type where no errors would occur. This figure representing the deviation of the actual scale from the ideal unidimensional scale is known as the coefficient of reproducibility and is calculated by the following formula:

$$C.R. = 1 - \frac{e}{n i} \quad \text{where } C.R. \text{ stands for the coefficient of reproducibility,}$$

e stands for the total number of errors,
 n stands for the total number of respondents,
 i stands for the total number of items in the scale being tested.

It is not sufficient to judge a scale on the basis of its coefficient of reproducibility alone. Some scales, because of their very nature (the number of items and the proportion agreeing with each item) can only have a certain extremely small number of errors or deviations from the ideal unidimensional pattern. Thus it is necessary to compare the coefficient of reproducibility with the maximum number of errors possible for a given scale. This figure is known as the minimum marginal reproducibility. It is equal to the average proportion of those agreeing or disagreeing (whichever proportion is largest) per item. Only in those cases where the coefficient of reproducibility represents an improvement of at least .15 above the minimum marginal reproducibility can the scale be considered a legitimate unidimensional scale.

The original seven level of living items produced a scale with a coefficient of reproducibility of .89, a minimum marginal reproducibility of .78, and hence a difference of .11. This meant that the original seven items formed only a quasi-scale.

The two items contributing the most error were removed from the scale and the remaining items were again checked by the Goodenough technique. The two

items removed were "Do you have a television?" and "Do you have running hot water with pipes and faucet?" The removal of these two items produced a scale with a coefficient of reproducibility of .93 and a minimum marginal reproducibility of .80, leaving a difference of .13. Various combinations of the items were also tried but on no occasion was a scale with "better" coefficients than this one discovered.

There is perhaps some logical justification of the elimination (both accidental and intentional) of the three items from Willmott's original scale. Willmott standardized his scale on samples of residents in two farm communities and two towns in Saskatchewan in 1960. Since then two significant trends have continued to expand. First of all, television sales and broadcasting have continued to increase in Saskatchewan. As well, the Rural Municipality of Great Bend happens to be situated in a convenient location for the reception of several television channels. Thus, we would expect evidence of possession of a television set to have depreciated in value as an indicator of level of living, especially in this farm area. Secondly, the Government of Saskatchewan has instituted a program whereby farmers and country towns are given financial and technical assistance in the installation of plumbing and sewage facilities. Thus, while the number of modern homes on farms and in country towns increases, its usefulness in terms of items on the level of living scale decreases. The reader must recall, however, that the final level of living scale used in this study is only a quasi-scale and not entirely adequate for the purpose to which it was put.

Subjective alienation (and anomia). The Goodenough technique outlined above was also used in the development of unidimensional anomia, powerlessness,

and social isolation scales. The normlessness scale was standardized on the basis of "t"-tests.⁵ The items in each of these scales have already been reported in Chapter III.⁶ The same procedure of testing various combinations of the items for each sub-scale until a satisfactory unidimensional scale was found, was also employed here.

Srole's anomia items together did not form a satisfactory unidimensional scale. The third item, namely "In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better," contributed the most error to this scale and was removed. The remaining items formed a unidimensional scale with a coefficient of reproducibility of .87, a minimum marginal reproducibility of .54 and hence a difference of .33. The final items for this unidimensional scale are as follows.

1. There is little use writing to public officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man.
2. Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.
3. It is hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.
4. These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on.

The original items in Dean's powerlessness sub-scale did not form a satisfactory unidimensional scale until the following items were removed:

1. I worry about the future facing today's children; and

⁵ For a discussion of the t-test technique of item selection, see Edwards, *ibid.*, pp. 152-155.

⁶ Confer ante, pp. 45 and 53 f.

2. It is frightening to be responsible for the development of a little child.

With these items removed the remaining items formed a unidimensional scale with a coefficient of reproducibility of .80, a minimum marginal reproducibility of .63 and hence a difference of .18. The final items were as follows:

1. Sometimes I have the feeling other people are using me.
2. There is little or nothing I can do about preventing a major shooting war.
3. There are so many decisions to be made today that sometimes I could just blow up.
4. There is little chance for promotion on the job unless a man gets a break.
5. We are so regimented today that there is not much room for choice even in personal matters.
6. We are just so many cogs in the machinery of life.
7. The future looks very dismal.

No unidimensional scale could be discovered among Dean's social isolation items until the items were broken down into two distinct categories. One category dealt with a general lack of "friendliness" in the world while the other dealt with the relation of the respondent to others immediately around him. Three items in the latter category formed an acceptable unidimensional scale with a coefficient of reproducibility of .98, a minimum marginal reproducibility of .77, and hence a difference of .19. The three items were as follows:

1. I don't get invited out by friends as often as I'd really like.
2. Real friends are as easy as ever to find.
3. One can always find friends if he shows himself friendly.

No unidimensional scale could be found for the remaining items, all of which fell

into the other category.

The items in Dean's normlessness sub-scale could not be formed into even a quasi-unidimensional scale by the Goodenough technique. Since a measure of this variable was required for the larger analytical purposes of the study, it became necessary to revert back to a less powerful scale standardization measure, namely the "t"-test. All of the original items were accepted in the final version of this scale, and they are reported, together with their "t"-values and significance levels in Table 5.6. As the table portrays all of the items discriminated between a sample of high scoring respondents and a sample of low scoring respondents at a level of significance equal of .01 or smaller and were accepted.

TABLE 5.6

NORMLESSNESS ITEMS BY THEIR "t" VALUES AND SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS

Item	"t" Value	Level of Significance
1. The end often justifies the means.	3.119	.01
2. People's ideas change so much that I wonder if we'll ever have anything to depend on.	11.428	.001
3. Everything is relative, and there just aren't any definite rules to live by.	3.289	.01
4. I wonder what the meaning of life really is.	8.953	.001
5. The only thing that one can be sure of today is that he can be sure of nothing.	10.357	.001
6. With so many religions around one doesn't really know which to believe.	6.360	.001

Income. Farmers' incomes are difficult to measure with adequate comparability and accuracy. As it was used in the present study, income referred to the estimated gross income of each farmer and the approximate annual wage of each urban resident. In the case of the rural schedule the items used to measure income attempted to discover the size and changes of the farm inventory over the past year. The use of price and yield assumptions produced a gross income figure for the respondent's farm unit. This is, of course, a very crude measure of the respondent's income position, and the use of it as an absolute measure of farm income is tenuous except in the broad sense. Nevertheless, it does permit the ranking of farmers on the basis of their relative income positions. As well, its accuracy may be equal to that of a simple question (such as was used in the migrant schedule) asking farm respondents what their annual income amounted to. Such a question not only arouses suspicion among respondents but it suffers from intentional misinformation, in some cases. As well, since accounting techniques vary widely among farmers one would not expect standard replies to such a simple question.

Age. The coding of the age variable became difficult because of an unusually close-clustered age distribution. Thus it became necessary for analytical purposes to make a distinction between age thirty-four and age thirty-five and again between age sixty-four and age sixty-five. While these distinctions may be tenuous on logical grounds, they have the following rationale to support them. First of all, the study is particularly interested in testing the relationships between increasing age and disorganization and migration regardless of the age categories used to illustrate them. The division between ages sixty-four and sixty-five will

generally separate the active farmers from the retired farmers. Finally, this categorization may give incite into the differences between three generations of farmers in the rural sample. Those farmers who settled the area at the turn of the century will now be in the "65 or over" category while their sons will be the active farmers in the "35 to 64" category and the third generation of respondents (where they have taken up farming as a way of life) will fall into the youngest category ("20 to 34").

Education. Education was operationally defined and questioned as the number of formal years of schooling attained by each respondent. The results of this question were difficult to use for analytical purposes because most of the respondents had only reached the grades between IV and VIII. It thus became necessary to make a distinction between Grade VI and Grade VII (as well as other distinctions). While the education continuum does measure increasing amounts of formal schooling, it is perhaps not as strategic a measure of this variable as would have been otherwise possible.

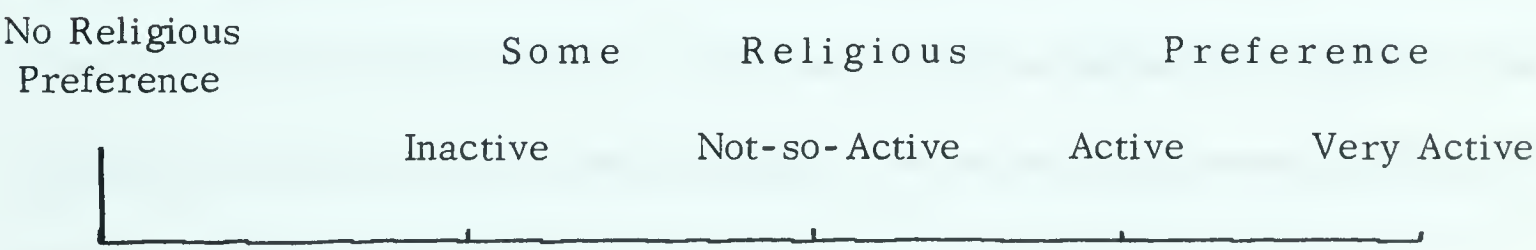
Organizational involvement. A measure of the degree to which an individual "belonged" or was in contact with the various organizations in his community provided the operational definition for organizational involvement. When the interviews were taken a card with a rather exhaustive list of organizations printed on it was given to the respondent for his perusal and help in answering this question. The interviewer was instructed to encourage the respondent to make as complete a reply as possible. The number of organizations that the respondent belonged to was coded, lumping together those who belonged to one or two organizations, those who belonged to three, four or five organizations, and those who belonged to six

or more organizations. The reader will recognize these categories as "low", "medium", and "high" organizational involvement respectively in the discussion of results in Chapter VI.

Religious involvement. This is a term referring to a continuum which measures how active an individual is in church activities according to his own self-rating. Although some of the categories were lumped together for analytical purposes, the general continuum can be seen in Figure 5.3. To facilitate standard answers from respondents, "very active" was defined as attending more than three-quarters of the regular church activities, "active" was defined as attending one-half to three-quarters of the regular church activities, "not so active" was defined as attending less than one-half of the regular church activities, and "inactive" was defined as attending none of the regular church activities.

FIGURE 5.3

A CONTINUUM OF RELIGIOUS INVOLVEMENT



Satisfaction with way of life. It was understood that "way of life" meant either the farm way of life or the urban way of life depending on which was relevant to the interviewee. Satisfaction with way of life was measured on a continuum ranging from "very satisfied" through "indifferent" to "very dissatisfied." It is perhaps significant that the majority of farm respondents gave a "satisfied" or

"very satisfied" reply to this question. While a few were "indifferent" almost none were "dissatisfied" or "very dissatisfied." Thus, in using this data for analytical purposes, it was necessary to draw a distinction between "very satisfied" and just "satisfied," as well as between "satisfied" and responses from "indifferent" to "very dissatisfied." While the first distinction may be tenuous, it was generally found that farmers who were just "satisfied" more often qualified their answer with certain "annoyances" that they harbored against the farm way of life. The fact that most of the replies were on the positive end of this continuum may be an artifact of the rural ethos and cultural system discussed in Chapter IV.

Analysis

The first part of the analysis consisted of the empirical operationalization of the concept "subjective alienation." For this purpose, cross-tabulations were made on a sample of fifty farm respondents (that is, fifty were randomly drawn from the total of 187 farm respondents). The degree of association between the scales of anomia, powerlessness, social isolation and normlessness was checked by using the Gamma (γ) statistic.⁷ The use of Gamma enabled the empirical measurement of both the direction and strength of the relationships which attained between the selected variables.

Cross-tabulations of the variables pertinent to each hypothesis were made. The level of significance for all of these cross-tabulations was measured with chi-

⁷ For a discussion of the computation of Gamma refer to Morris B. Zelditch, A Basic Course In Sociological Statistics (New York: Henry Holt and Company Inc., 1959).

squares. In some cases (as we have noted above) the data were considered to be from one large sample. In other cases, however, it was necessary to consider the farm sample separately. Tables representing the results will in some cases have a total "n" of 215 while in other cases the "n" will amount to only 187 (that is, the farm sample alone).

In many cases, some data was excluded from the chi-square tests. For example, instances where the respondent did not answer a question were not included in the tests of significance although they are reported in the "not stated" category of cross-tabulation in Chapter VI. This category includes the following cases:

1. where the question was not relevant to the respondent. For example, the question pertaining to the respondent's activity in his church affairs was not relevant to those who had no religious preference;

2. where the respondent failed to answer a question or check his response to a scale item (through oversight or outright refusal). For example, in any scale where the respondent could not be scored on one or more items he was automatically placed in the "not stated" category.

The fact that the so-called "samples" were total enumerations of selected respondents, questions the legitimacy of the use of chi-squares as the basic statistic. In order to use this statistic the following assumptions are necessary:

1. that the measurements are at least of the nominal order, and
2. that the test be between independent samples.

All of the measurements used for analytical purposes in the present study were of the nominal, ordinal or interval order. Hence the first assumption has been met. However, because the samples were "purposive" and "selected" and because the enumeration was almost total within a given area and not random, the data violates the assumption of independence. Therefore, strictly speaking the chi-square statistic should not have been used. However, some measure of significance levels was deemed necessary and other statistical tests would have been less warranted on the basis of the assumptions necessary for their use. Consequently, Hubert M. Blalock's word of caution has been adhered to, namely that "the most sensible procedure would seem to be to make as few compromises as possible within the limits of practicality."⁸ In all cases, relationships were accepted as significant only at or below the .05 level of probability. In some cases, near significant relationships and tendencies were reported, but with caution.

Specific Limitations

Sample size. Perhaps the most severe limitation to the research design is the fact that the migrant sample turned out to be extremely small compared to the farm sample. Although it has not limited the amount of analysis that could be carried out on the data, it must be recalled when any attempt is made to generalize the relationships discovered.

The alienation scales. A number of criticisms have already been levelled

⁸ Hubert M. Blalock, Social Statistics (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company Inc., 1960), p. 112. For a discussion of the computation of chi-squares see ibid., pp. 212-220.

at both Srole's anomia and Dean's alienation scales.⁹ Perhaps the most important criticism deals with the format of the scale items. Almost all of Dean's items were "one-sided" inasmuch as the most alienated response was always the "agree" response. Significantly, the items that were "reversed" form part of the social isolation sub-scale and these items were the very items that were removed during the scaling procedure. Further, the powerlessness, normlessness, and especially the social isolation items did not prove fully suitable to the farm way of life. A number of respondents had trouble making any sense of the items whatsoever. This forced the interviewers to attempt encouragement of the respondents and hence introduced some probable bias in the alienation responses.

The gross farm income measure. The items in the farm schedule which produced an estimate of gross farm income unfortunately only resulted in relatively accurate data. While elaborations of the same technique (using more detailed assumptions of yields and prices) can be used to produce more accurate results, it was originally felt that this much detail was not warranted in a study such as this one. With greater facilities for analysis, perhaps indulgence in this "luxury" would have been warranted.

The incomparability of city and farm variables. Unfortunately, it was impossible to glean perfectly comparable data for both the farm and the migrant samples. Level of living and income were two of the best examples of this limitation. In view of this, the study was perhaps better able to contribute to an analysis of migration from the farm point of view than from the point of view of urban

⁹ Confer ante, pp. 45.

residents.

This chapter has dealt with the specific means by which each concept was operationalized and measured in the present study. The next chapter will present the specific hypotheses and their results. As well, the exact empirical definition of the concept "subjective alienation" will be outlined.

CHAPTER VI

HYPOTHESES AND RESULTS

I. SUMMARY OF THE ESSENTIAL THEORY¹

Although theoretical details have been presented in Chapter II and some of their logical implications have been worked out in Chapter IV certain theoretical concepts are more essential to personal and social disorganization in a rural setting and hence to the consequent hypotheses. It will be recalled that the convergences in the several theories discussed in Chapter II posited three general areas of causality.

In the first place, objective personal and social disorganization was said to produce subjective disorganization. In other words, the theory predicted that latencies which resulted in conflict and crises between the individual and social phases of the disorganization schema would also result in subjective alienation and anomia. For the purposes of formulating hypotheses, therefore, it was predicted that areas of latencies tend to produce subjective alienation.

Second, it was argued in Chapter II that subjective personal and social disorganization was the causal factor in its relationship with the various adaptations. Subjective alienation was understood to be one or more attitudes. As an attitude, it was understood to produce certain adaptive behaviours. For the purpose of formulating hypotheses the theoretical prediction that subjective alienation

¹ The following introduction to Chapter VI will be largely a repetition of the theoretical summary at the end of Chapter II. Confer ante pp. 35 ff.

produces rural-to-urban migration was followed.

Finally, it may be recalled that the theory hedged these first two predictions by also positing a causal relationship between objective personal and social disorganization and the various adaptations. Thus the theory allowed for the obvious possibility that not all of the adaptations are caused or even accompanied by subjective alienation. For example, it would normally be expected that someone contemplating suicide would also show evidence of strong attitudes of alienation. However, other adaptations such as overconformity or ritualism and the normative reaction, while they are produced by objective personal and social disorganization, may be accompanied by little or no subjective alienation. Therefore, for the practical purpose of checking the hypotheses already developed, a causal relationship between objective personal and social disorganization and rural-to-urban migration formed the basic theory for a third set of hypotheses.

The reader will now realize that the material in Chapter IV is here relevant inasmuch as it has pointed up at least subjective evidence that objective personal and social disorganization does exist in the Saskatchewan rural setting. Without this evidence, it would not have been logical (on the basis of the theory) to attempt to measure subjective alienation in a rural community. (Nor would the subsequent discussion of sources of rural-to-urban migration have made any sense.)

II. OPERATIONALIZATION OF SUBJECTIVE ALIENATION

Before continuing with the hypotheses, it is necessary to establish exactly what is meant, in empirical terms, by the concept "subjective alienation."

The technique of standardization and the resulting alienation attitude scales have been reported in Chapter V. Briefly, unidimensional attitude scales measuring powerlessness, normlessness and a special type of social isolation were developed from Dwight G. Dean's original work.²

Concerning the powerlessness scale, it was said to measure an attitude which holds that one's own behaviour does not have an especially significant influence on future happenings related to oneself. In other words, whenever a person feels that he lacks control or power he will have a high powerlessness score.

Dean's original normlessness scale contained two separate sub-types of alienation. (The fact that these normlessness items did not form a unidimensional scale by the Goodenough technique in the present study may be explained in part by the inclusion of both sub-types of normlessness.) Hence it measured two related attitude areas: (a) that there is no purpose or direction in life or that there are no directive values, and (b) that what values there are tend to be often conflictual.

The original scale items relevant to social isolation were said to measure feelings of separation or isolation from "the group" and its standards. However, perusal of the items has shown that they probably measured two areas, one dealing with the "friendliness" of society and the other tapping the degree to which one has a personal sphere of friends. In the present study, three items in the latter category formed a unidimensional scale and were used as the measure of social isolation.

² Confer ante pp. 105 ff.

In order to discover whether or not powerlessness, normlessness, and social isolation measured some basic underlying variable which could be called general subjective alienation, each scale was correlated with the others for a sample of fifty farm respondents. The results of these intercorrelations can be seen in Table 6.1.

TABLE 6.1
INTERCORRELATIONS OF POWERLESSNESS, NORMLESSNESS AND
SOCIAL ISOLATION:
RURAL MUNICIPALITY OF GREAT BEND STUDY AREA, 1963*

	Powerlessness**	Social Isolation**	Normlessness***
Powerlessness		-.146	.749****
Social Isolation			.211

* The measure of association is Gamma (γ).

** Standardized by the Goodenough technique.

*** Standardized on the basis of "t"-tests.

**** Significant at or below the .05 level of probability.

Table 6.1 illustrates the following two significant findings:

1. Powerlessness and normlessness are associated sufficiently ($\gamma = .749$) so as to allow the assumption that although they measure separate areas of content these areas are related.

2. Social isolation is not associated significantly with powerlessness ($\gamma = -.146$) or with normlessness ($\gamma = .211$) and hence it can be assumed not only

that the social isolation scale measures a separate area of content but also that this area is not related to those of powerlessness and normlessness (at least in the rural community studied).

Based on this evidence, it was decided to omit the concept of social isolation from the operationalization of subjective alienation. The latter was thus composed only of powerlessness and normlessness. There is perhaps some justification for this omission when subjective alienation in a rural setting is considered. First of all, it will be recalled from Chapter IV that the rural ethos was developed partly out of antagonisms against the farmers' "enemies." Co-operatives and at least a facade of co-operation provided the farmers' "masthead" in this war against "vested interests." Thus while social isolation may exist in rural communities it would be difficult to discover using conventional attitude scales such as the one used here. Second, the primary evidence of objective social isolation in the rural setting as it was cited in Chapter IV took the form of town-country antagonisms. Unfortunately, this concept was not operationalized into an attitude scale for the present study.

There is also some empirical evidence to support this omission. In one case, Dorothy L. Meier and Wendell Bell found that while anomia and social isolation were significantly related this relationship was not consistent and depended as well on how realistically the respondent assessed his position in the class system.³ In another case Dean's results showed: a) that the coefficient of association between social isolation, and powerlessness and normlessness was lower than bet-

³ Supra pp. 47 ff.

ween powerlessness and normlessness, and b) that while powerlessness and normlessness correlated significantly with occupation, education, income, age, and rural community background, social isolation correlated significantly only with education and income and in the case of age the relationship was even reversed.⁴

Another psychological variable which was though might measure subjective personal and social disorganization was considered. The respondent's degree of satisfaction with his way of life was considered to be in part, at least, a measure of the extent to which he was exposed to latency conflict or objective personal and social disorganization. Logically, if he experienced little or no latency conflict, the respondent would feel relatively satisfied with his way of life. Satisfaction with way of life was found to vary negatively with powerlessness and with normlessness. Both relationships were significant.

Finally, the relationship between powerlessness and normlessness and a modification of Srole's anomia scale was tested and found to be positive and significant in both cases. Thus, while each measures a distinct universe of content, they are fundamentally related.

To recapitulate, subjective alienation was operationally defined as powerlessness and normlessness. Each of these was shown to be also fundamentally related to anomia and to satisfaction with way of life.

III. HYPOTHESES

Three sets of hypotheses were formulated based on the three areas of

⁴ Supra pp. 56 ff.

causality discussed in the theoretical summary at the beginning of this chapter.

Series "A" Hypotheses: The Relationship Between Objective Personal and Social

Disorganization and Subjective Alienation

The first set of hypotheses was based on that part of the theory which predicts that objective personal and social disorganization causes subjective alienation. Three types of social variables which can be theoretically linked with objective personal and social disorganization were considered.

Socio-economic status. For the purpose of the present study, three separate measures of socio-economic status were used. These include level of living, income, and amount of formal education. (Occupation was not especially relevant in this case because almost all of the respondents were farmers.)

Generally, the theories discussed in Chapter II warrant the prediction that socio-economic status is negatively associated with subjective alienation. Specifically, Richard A. Cloward and Loyd E. Ohlin suggested that a greater incidence of delinquency exists among boys in the lower socio-economic classes because of the prevailing discrepancy between the goals emphasized and the institutional means that commonly prevail in American society.⁵ This is essentially an expansion of the theory of anomie, especially as it was worked out by Robert K. Merton. Whenever societal norms do not function to hold goals in balance with the means of obtaining these goals then anomie will tend to result. It was here posited that respondents who have a lower standard of living, lower income, and less for-

⁵ Confer ante, p. 19 f.

mal education will be more subject to objective anomie. This will tend to produce more conflict and crises for the low status respondent and hence more subjective alienation.⁶

These relationships are also supported by Parsons' theory of alienation and religious motivation. He understood alienation to result in part from the occurrence of uncontrollable events such as crop failures.⁷ It can be assumed that for those with higher socio-economic status many kinds of uncontrollable events would not be as devastating or serious as for those in the lower categories. Hence, the likelihood of subjective alienation among higher socio-economic categories would be less.

Finally, there is some empirical evidence supporting the prediction of a negative relationship between socio-economic status and subjective alienation. Meier and Bell also found anomia to be inversely associated with socio-economic status.⁸ Dean found powerlessness and normlessness to be negatively associated with education and income.⁹

Based on the above arguments, the following three hypotheses were stated:

1. Level of living is negatively associated with subjective alienation.

⁶ It will be noticed that the relationship posited between education and subjective alienation seems to run counter to the discussion of Emil Durkheim's work. There it was suggested that education (as it accompanied disintegration of group life) was positively associated with egoistic suicide. No attempt can be made at this stage to rectify this obvious contradiction.

⁷ Confer ante, pp. 25.

⁸ Supra, pp. 47 ff.

⁹ Supra, pp. 56 ff.

2. Income is negatively associated with subjective alienation.

3. Amount of formal education is negatively associated with subjective alienation.

Age. The predicted relationship between age and subjective alienation was based largely upon other empirical findings. Meier and Bell found anomia to be directly related to age for individuals over fifty.¹⁰ Similarly, Dean found that his measures of powerlessness and normlessness were both associated positively with age.¹¹ In order to make this empirical relationship consistent with the theoretical frame of reference, it was necessary to assume that age as a social variable is functionally related to objective personal and social disorganization. In this case, it appears that the older age categories experience more latency conflict than do the younger age categories. As a result, older people tend to be more subjectively alienated.

In the rural setting, there is added support for a direct relationship between age and subjective alienation. There, each generation has experienced completely different eras of general success or general failure in the farming industry. Specifically, what can be called the first generation (in general, farmers who are now retired), experienced the era of settlement in Saskatchewan. In Chapter IV it was noted that this era was one of pioneering enthusiasm with the vision of utopia building. Since then, however, the first generation has seen the agricultural industry continually decline. It was predicted here that the contradiction made real-

¹⁰ Supra, pp. 47 f.

¹¹ Supra, pp. 56 f.

istic by this decline provides the area of strongest latency conflict for first generation individuals. What may be called the second generation of farmers (in general, farmers who are still active) began their farming careers around the time of the Great Depression (1929 to 1940), a period when farming was an extremely depressed enterprise. Since then, however, the second generation has also experienced considerable improvement in the economic basis of farming especially during World War II. It was predicted here that these general experiences produce latency conflict to a lesser degree for second generation farmers.

Hence, the following additional hypothesis was stated:

4. Age is positively associated with subjective alienation.

Integration with group life. Organizational and religious involvement are two interesting variables because the relevant theories in which they are involved appear to be contradictory. Emil Durkheim, for example, explained that suicide was lower among Roman Catholics than among Protestants because the former were more closely bound or integrated into their church. He went on to conclude that whenever an individual subordinated society to himself, that is, whenever an individual failed to be integrated into group life the likelihood of his committing suicide was high.¹² It can be concluded from Durkheim's discussion of egoistic suicide that variables such as involvement in organizations (both "religious" and "non-religious") are independent variables in the social system. Based on the theoretical convergences of the present study it could be predicted that these variables (organizational and religious involvement) are causally related to subjective alienation

¹² Confer ante, pp. 11.ff.

inasmuch as individuals who are not highly involved in organizations would tend to be more alienated.

On the other hand, Talcott Parsons has argued that the occurrence of uncontrolled events causes subjective alienation and that alienation in turn is the motivating force behind religious behaviour.¹³ Within the theoretical frame of reference used here, Parsons' discussion places organization as caused directly by subjective alienation. In this case it would be predicted that those who are most highly alienated would also be most highly involved in organizational and religious activities.

For the purposes of hypothesis formulation, the former theoretical background has been adopted. The weight of the empirical evidence seems to support this prediction. Leonard I. Pearlin found alienation to vary inversely with the amount of interaction the respondent experienced with his super- and sub-ordinates, directly with the amount the respondent worked alone, and inversely with the number of extra work partnerships the respondent had with workmates.¹⁴

Hence, these final hypotheses in this series were stated:

5. Organizational involvement is negatively associated with subjective alienation.

6. Religious involvement is negatively associated with subjective alienation.

¹³ Confer ante, pp. 25 ff.

¹⁴ Supra, p. 57.

Series "B" Hypothesis: The Relationship Between Subjective Alienation and Rural-to-Urban Migration

The theoretical tenets supporting this hypothesis have been completely summarized at the beginning of this chapter. Briefly, rural-to-urban migration was understood to be an adaptation to objective personal and social disorganization. As such, it is directly caused in the short run by subjective alienation.

Hence, the following hypothesis was stated:

1. a) Subjective alienation is positively associated with rural-to-urban physical migration.
- b) Subjective alienation is positively associated with rural-to-urban occupational migration.

Series "C" Hypotheses: The Relationship Between Objective Personal and Social Disorganization and Rural-to-Urban Physical and Occupational Migration

Again, the theoretical justification for this set of hypotheses has been reviewed at the beginning of this chapter. These hypotheses were understood to be only a counter-check on the hypotheses in Series "A". For this reason, the identical relationships were predicted between the various social variables and migration as were predicted between the social variables and subjective alienation. If conflicting relationships are found between Series "A" and Series "C" results then the assumption of causality between objective personal and social disorganization and migration, without even concomitant subjective alienation, will be warranted.

Hence, the following hypotheses were stated:

1. Level of living is negatively associated with rural-to-urban physical migration.

2. Income is negatively associated with rural-to-urban physical migration.
3. a) Amount of formal education is negatively associated with rural-to-urban physical migration.
- b) Amount of formal education is negatively associated with rural-to-urban occupational migration.
4. Age is positively associated with rural-to-urban physical migration.
5. a) Organizational involvement is negatively associated with rural-to-urban physical migration.
- b) Organizational involvement is negatively associated with rural-to-urban occupational migration.
6. a) Religious involvement is negatively associated with rural-to-urban physical migration.
- b) Religious involvement is negatively associated with rural-to-urban occupational migration.

IV. RESULTS

Series "A" Results

Socio-economic status and subjective alienation.

1. Level of living is negatively associated with subjective alienation.

As was noted earlier, the nature of the measure of level of living made it virtually impossible to compare farm respondents with migrant respondents. While the level of living for each sub-sample was enumerated and while it is generally accepted that the level of living among farmers is lower than the level of living among city

residents, there was no accurate means by which the two level of living scales could be joined. Thus, for analytical purposes no urban resident non-farmers were considered.

No significant relationships were found to exist between the level of living among farmers and their level of alienation. Thus, for example, 46 per cent of all the respondents with "low" levels of living were classed as having "high" feelings of powerlessness but at the same time, 42 per cent with "high" levels of living also had "high" feelings of powerlessness. In the case of normlessness, of those with "high" levels of living 22 per cent were highly alienated whereas 36 per cent of those with "low" levels of living were also highly alienated.

Thus, Hypothesis "A-1" was rejected by the evidence of the data.

2. Income is negatively associated with subjective alienation.

As was the case in the analysis of level of living, it was similarly impossible to relate the distribution of gross farm income to the distribution of incomes in the migrant sample in any meaningful way. Again, therefore, only the relationship between income and alienation as this occurred in the farm sample was analyzed.

Again, no significant relationship was found between income and alienation. The relationship that obtained in the farm sample between income and powerlessness appeared to be almost randomly distributed. Taking the two extreme income categories, 53 per cent of those with a gross farm income below \$5,000 had "high" feelings of powerlessness while 38 per cent of the farmers who grossed \$15,000 or over annually fell into the same category of powerlessness.

In the case of normlessness, however, there was a slight tendency for the wealthy to be less alienated. This is shown in Table 6.2.

TABLE 6.2
INCOME BY NORMLESSNESS: A PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION
FOR THE FARM SAMPLE

Income	NORMLESSNESS					Total n
	Not Stated %	Low %	Medium %	High %	Total %	
Not Stated	100	-	-	-	100	5
\$0 to \$4,999	6	12	41	41	100	32
\$5,000 to \$9,999	6	32	38	23	99	77
\$10,000 to \$14,999	16	24	43	16	99	49
\$15,000 and over	17	38	25	21	101	24
Total %	10	28	39	23	100	187
Chi-square = 10.202					Not significant	

Generally, however, Hypothesis "A-2" received rejection from the evidence of the data.

3. Education is negatively associated with subjective alienation. No significant relationships were discovered between education and either powerlessness or normlessness. However, there was a tendency for those with more education to show less evidence of powerlessness. For example, of those with less than a Grade IV education 56 per cent had "high" attitudes of powerlessness and none were classed as "low." However, of those who had some university training 33 per cent had "high" and 50 per cent had "low" attitudes of powerlessness. Nevertheless, Hypothesis "A-3" must be regarded as rejected by the data.

Age and subjective alienation.

4. Age is positively associated with subjective alienation. No significant relationships obtained between age and either measure of alienation. However, there was a slight tendency for the older respondents to have higher feelings of normlessness than the other age categories. Forty-two per cent of the respondents who were age twenty to thirty-five and 28 per cent of those age sixty-five or over had "low" attitudes of normlessness while 17 per cent and 22 per cent of the two age categories respectively had "high" normlessness attitudes. Nevertheless, Hypothesis "A-4" was rejected by the evidence of the data.

Integration and subjective alienation.

5. Organizational involvement is negatively associated with subjective alienation. No significant relationship was found to exist between organizational involvement and powerlessness. However, the relation between organizational involvement and normlessness was significant and negative. It is shown in Table 6.3. There, 41 per cent of those belonging to six or more organizations were classified as "low" on the normlessness scale while 3 per cent of the same category of organizational involvement fell into the "high" category of normlessness. Conversely, 20 per cent of those respondents who belonged to none, one or two organizations had "low" feelings of normlessness while 32 per cent were classed in the "high" category of normlessness. A similar significant negative relationship was found to exist between organizational involvement and normlessness when the farm respondents were considered alone. Thus while Hypothesis "A-5" had to be rejected the relationship between one measure of subjective alienation, namely normlessness, and organizational involvement did support the hypothesis.

TABLE 6.3

ORGANIZATIONAL INVOLVEMENT BY NORMLESSNESS:
A PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION FOR THE TOTAL SAMPLE

Number of Organizational Memberships	Not Stated %	NORMLESSNESS			Total %	Total n
		Low %	Medium %	High %		
None, 1 or 2	8	20	40	32	100	98
3, 4 or 5	11	33	36	19	99	88
6 or more	14	41	41	3	99	29
Total	10	28	39	23	100	215
Chi-square = 13.424		Level of significance .01				

6. Religious involvement. No significant relationship was discovered between religious involvement and powerlessness, although there was a tendency for those who were more active in church activities to have lower levels of powerlessness. While the relationship between religious involvement and normlessness also could not be accepted, it obtained at a level of significance close to the minimum standard. Only 18 per cent of those reporting that they were "inactive" or "not so active" in their church fell into the "low" category of normlessness, while 35 per cent had "high" feelings of normlessness. At the same time, 35 per cent of those reporting that they were "very active" in their church had "low" feelings of normlessness, while 15 per cent were classed in the "high" normlessness category.

Thus Hypothesis "A-6" was rejected by the evidence of the data.

Series "B" Results

1. a) Subjective alienation is positively associated with rural-to-urban physical migration. No significant relationship was found to exist between physical migration and normlessness. However, a significant relationship was discovered between physical migration and powerlessness. Table 6.4 is based on a cross-tabulation of physical migration and powerlessness.

TABLE 6.4

PHYSICAL MIGRATION BY POWERLESSNESS: A PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION
FOR THE TOTAL STUDY SAMPLE

Physical Migration	POWERLESSNESS					Total n
	Not Stated %	Low %	Medium %	High %	Total %	
Farm Residence (not considered moving)	9	18	38	35	100	125
Farm Residence (has considered moving)	0	3	28	70	101	40
Non-Farm Residence	4	20	42	34	100	50
Total	6	15	37	41	99	215
Chi-square = 15.455				Level of significance .01		

This table shows that respondents who were as yet maintaining a farm residence but who had considered moving were more alienated than those maintaining a farm residence who had not considered moving or those who had already moved and were maintaining a residence off the farm (regardless of their occupation). For example,

70 per cent of those maintaining a farm residence who had considered moving were classed as having "high" feelings of powerlessness compared to 35 per cent of those who maintained a farm residence and had never considered moving and 34 per cent of those who had already moved and were maintaining a non-farm residence. The relationship between physical migration and powerlessness thus appears to be differential or "u-shaped" with those in the intermediate stage of physical migration showing the greatest amounts of powerlessness. The hypothesis, therefore, must be considered as rejected although the relationship attained as predicted for the first half of the migration continuum.

When the migrant sample was eliminated from cross-tabulations and only farmer respondents were considered, a similar relationship was discovered. In this case, 69 per cent of those maintaining a farm residence but having considered moving were classed as "high" on the powerlessness scale compared to 35 per cent of those who maintained a farm residence and had not considered moving and about 40 per cent of those who had already moved into one of the neighboring towns. No significant relationship between physical migration and normlessness was discovered when the farm sample was considered alone.

b) Subjective alienation is positively associated with rural-to-urban occupational migration. No significant relationships obtained between this variable and either powerlessness or normlessness. For example, 78 per cent of those who were farmers only compared to 79 per cent of those with off-farm employment and 72 per cent of those with non-farm occupations all had at least "medium" or "high" attitudes of powerlessness.

In the case of normlessness, however, there was a slight tendency for

those with off-farm employment to be more highly alienated. Thirty-four per cent of those with off-farm employment were classed in the "high" category of normlessness compared with 23 per cent of the farmers and 11 per cent of the non-farmers.

Consequently, Hypothesis "B-1" was rejected.

Series "C" Results

Socio-economic status and rural-to-urban migration.

1. Level of living is negatively associated with rural-to-urban physical migration. It will be recalled that because farm and city level of living scales were not comparable city resident non-farmers were excluded from this analysis. No significant relationship obtained between level of living and physical migration. Thus, 12 per cent of the farmers with "low" levels of living compared to 10 per cent in the "high" category had already moved off the farm. Conversely, 61 per cent of those with a "low" level of living and 63 per cent with a "high" living standard had never considered moving off their farms. Hence, the hypothesis was rejected.

2. Income. As with level of living only farmers were included in the analysis. Again, no significant relationship obtained between income and migration. Thus, the hypothesis was rejected by the evidence of the data. Among those farmers with a gross annual income of \$15,000 or more, 57 per cent had never considered moving, 18 per cent resided on the farm for at least nine months, 4 per cent resided on the farm for three months or less and 7 per cent maintained full-time off-farm residences. Conversely, farmers whose gross incomes amounted to less than \$5,000 had never considered moving in 53 per cent of the cases,

resided for the most part on the farm in 16 per cent of the cases, resided largely off the farm again in 16 per cent of the cases and 16 per cent maintained a full-time off-farm residence.

3. a) Education is negatively associated with rural-to-urban physical migration. Education was found to be significantly related to physical migration for the total sample, however, the relationship was positive. This relationship is shown in Table 6.5. There it can be seen that on the one hand all of those who had received a university degree or had taken some university training had already moved off the farm, while on the other hand, considering those who had had no schooling whatsoever, or at a maximum Grade III; of the total nine in this category, seven were presently maintaining a farm residence and had never considered moving. However, when this same relationship was tested in the farm sample alone it was not statistically significant. It should be noted, however, that the farm sample was relatively homogenous in terms of the education variable.

Therefore, the hypothesis was rejected by the evidence of the data.

b) Education is negatively associated with rural-to-urban occupational migration. The relationship between education and occupational migration was also significant and positive. From it one can see that not only were the six respondents with some university training non-farm residents, but they also had non-farm occupations and resided in the city of Saskatoon. About 63 per cent of those whose occupation was farming only, had received no high school compared to 48 per cent of those farm respondents who also had off-farm employment and 18 per cent of those who had non-farm occupations exclusively. Thus, the hypothesis was rejected.

TABLE 6.5

FORMAL EDUCATION BY PHYSICAL MIGRATION: A PERCENTAGE
DISTRIBUTION FOR THE TOTAL STUDY SAMPLE

Formal Education	PHYSICAL MIGRATION			Total %	Total n
	Farm Residence (not considered moving)	Farm Residence (has considered moving)	Non-Farm Residence		
	%	%	%		
Grade III or less	78	0	22	100	9
Grades IV to VI	52	19	29	100	31
Grades VII to VIII	63	23	14	100	79
Grades IX to XII	58	18	24	100	90
University	0	0	100	100	6
Total	58	19	23	100	215
Chi-square = 21.249			Level of Significance .01		

Age and rural-to-urban migration.

4. Age is positively associated with rural-to-urban physical migration.

The data on age and physical migration formed a significant relationship. A percentage distribution of the data can be seen in Table 6.6. There it can be noticed that for those respondents between twenty and thirty-four years of age 46 per cent maintained a farm residence and had not considered moving and 40 per cent had already moved. Conversely, for those respondents sixty-five years or older 67 per cent maintained a farm residence and had not considered moving while 22 per cent had already moved. There was a slight tendency among respondents thirty-five to

sixty-four years of age to be represented more than proportionately in the second category of physical migration, that is, where a farm residence is maintained but the respondent has considered moving. When the migrant respondents were removed and the farm sample was considered alone the relationship was not significant and it tended to be in a reverse direction. Thus, for example, of those respondents between twenty and thirty-four years of age about 88 per cent maintained a farm residence, while the remaining 12 per cent resided most of the time in non-farm homes. Conversely, of those respondents sixty-five years of age or over

TABLE 6.6

AGE BY PHYSICAL MIGRATION: A PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION
FOR THE TOTAL STUDY SAMPLE

Age	PHYSICAL MIGRATION			Total %	Total n
	Farm Residence (not considered moving)	Farm Residence (has considered moving)	Non-Farm Residence		
	%	%	%		
20 to 34 years	46	15	40	101	48
35 to 64 years	61	21	18	100	149
65 years or over	67	11	22	100	18
Total	58	19	23	100	215
Chi-square = 9.908			Level of Significance .05		

only 78 per cent maintained farm homes and the remaining 22 per cent resided most of the time in non-farm homes. Again, the tendency of respondents between the ages of thirty-five and sixty-four was to be more than proportionately represented

in that category of physical migration distinguished by the fact that the respondents had considered moving.

Since the relationship between age and physical migration was significantly negative, the hypothesis was rejected.

Integration and rural-to-urban migration.

5. a) Organizational involvement is negatively associated with rural-to-urban physical migration. Organizational involvement obtained a relationship with physical migration which was not significant yet close to the minimum standard. The relationship obtained as predicted, showing that respondents who were low in organizational involvement were also high on the migration scale. An identical cross-tabulation (between organizational involvement and physical migration) for farmers only showed a similar relationship which was not however significant. In the former case, of those who belonged to fewer than three organizations, 53 per cent had never considered moving off the farm and 32 per cent had already moved. Conversely, 69 per cent of those belonging to six or more organizations had never considered moving while 7 per cent had already moved. However, the hypothesis was considered rejected.

b) Organizational involvement is negatively associated with rural-to-urban occupational migration. A significant negative relationship obtained between organizational involvement and occupational migration. This is shown in Table 6.7. Among those respondents belonging to six or more organizations, 79 per cent were farmers exclusively and the remainder were farmers with off-farm employment. At the same time, 24 per cent of those belonging to only one or two organizations had urban occupations exclusively, while 66 per cent did nothing

else but farm. Thus the hypothesis was accepted.

TABLE 6.7.

ORGANIZATIONAL INVOLVEMENT BY OCCUPATIONAL MIGRATION:
A PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION FOR THE TOTAL STUDY SAMPLE

Number of Organizational Memberships	OCCUPATIONAL MIGRATION				Total n
	Farmers Only	Farmers With Off-Farm Employment	Non- Farmers Only	Total	
	%	%	%	%	
None, 1 or 2	66	10	24	100	98
3, 4 or 5	86	8	6	100	88
6 or more	79	21	0	100	29
Total	76	11	13	100	215
Chi-square = 19.677			Level of Significance .001		

6. a) Religious involvement is negatively associated with rural-to-urban physical migration. The relationship between physical migration and religious involvement was not significant. There 61 per cent of those who had no religious preference or were "inactive" in their church compared to 52 per cent of those who were "active" and 80 per cent of those who were "very active" had never considered moving off the farm. Conversely, none of those who had already moved were "very active" in church affairs. Thus the hypothesis was rejected although there was a slight tendency for the physical migrants to be less involved in church activities.

b) Religious involvement is negatively associated with rural-to-urban occupational migration. A significant negative relationship obtained between religious involvement and occupational migration. This can be seen in Table 6.8. Generally speaking, respondents in the migrant sample were less involved with church activities than were farm respondents. For example, of those purporting to be "inactive" and "not so active" in their church activities, 66 per cent were farmers only and 25 per cent had non-farm occupations exclusively. On the other hand, of those respondents reporting that they were "very active" in their church activities, 83 per cent were farmers only, while only 7 per cent had non-farm occupations exclusively. Thus, the hypothesis was accepted.

TABLE 6.8

RELIGIOUS INVOLVEMENT BY OCCUPATIONAL MIGRATION: A PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION FOR THE TOTAL STUDY SAMPLE

Involvement In Church Activities	OCCUPATIONAL MIGRATION				Total n
	Farmers Only	Farmers With Off-Farm Employment	Non- Farmers Only	Total	
	%	%	%	%	
Very Active	83	10	7	100	112
Active	73	15	12	100	33
Not-so-Active to Inactive	66	9	25	100	65
No religious Preference	80	20	0	100	5
Total	76	11	13	100	215
Chi-square = 11.792			Level of Significance .05		

V. SUMMARY OF HYPOTHESES AND RESULTS

Series "A": The Relationship Between Objective Personal and Social Disorganization and Subjective Alienation

Socio-economic status.

1. Level of living is negatively associated with subjective alienation.

Rejected (no significant relationship).

2. Income is negatively associated with subjective alienation. Rejected (no significant relationship).

3. Education is negatively associated with subjective alienation. Rejected (no significant relationship).

Age.

4. Age is positively associated with subjective alienation. Rejected (no significant relationship).

Integration.

5. Organizational involvement is negatively associated with subjective alienation. Rejected with powerlessness (no significant relationship). Accepted with normlessness.

6. Religious involvement is negatively associated with subjective alienation. Rejected with powerlessness (no significant relationship). Rejected with normlessness although a negative relationship close to the minimum standard of acceptance obtained.

Series "B": The Relationship Between Subjective Alienation and Rural-to-Urban Migration

1. a) Subjective alienation is positively associated with rural-to-urban physical migration. Rejected with powerlessness. (Those who had considered moving were significantly more alienated than those who had not considered moving or those who had already moved.) Rejected with normlessness (no significant relationship).

b) Subjective alienation is positively associated with rural-to-urban occupational migration. Rejected with powerlessness (no significant relationship). Rejected with normlessness. (Tendency for farmers with off-farm employment to be more alienated than farmers or non-farmers.)

Series "C": The Relationship Between Objective Personal and Social Disorganization and Rural-to-Urban Migration

Socio-economic status.

1. Level of living is negatively associated with rural-to-urban physical migration. Rejected (no significant relationship).

2. Income is negatively associated with rural-to-urban physical migration. Rejected (no significant relationship).

3. a) Amount of formal education is negatively associated with rural-to-urban physical migration. Rejected (the relationship was significant but positive).

b) Amount of formal education is negatively associated with rural-to-urban occupational migration. Rejected (the relationship was significant but positive).

Age.

4. Age is positively associated with rural-to-urban physical migration.

Rejected (the relationship was significant but negative).

Integration.

5. a) Organizational involvement is negatively associated with rural-to-urban physical migration. Rejected (a near-significant negative relationship obtained).

b) Organizational involvement is negatively associated with rural-to-urban occupational migration. Accepted.

6. a) Religious involvement is negatively associated with rural-to-urban migration. Rejected (no significant relationship but a tendency for a negative association).

b) Religious involvement is negatively associated with rural-to-urban occupational migration. Accepted.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

I. THE PROBLEM

Three specific problems have been undertaken in this study for empirical analysis and conclusions. They include:

1. to assess the prediction that objective personal and social disorganization produces subjective alienation in a rural community;
2. to assess the prediction that subjective alienation produces rural-to-urban physical and occupational migration in a rural community; and
3. to examine the possibility that objective personal and social disorganization produces rural-to-urban physical and occupational migration in a rural community without concomitant subjective alienation.

II. PRELIMINARIES

Before these problems could be approached it was necessary to provide at least some evidence that objective personal and social disorganization existed in the rural setting. This task was accomplished in Chapter IV where evidence was provided to support the contention that at least four areas of possible latency conflict are common to rural life, namely:

1. objective powerlessness, stemming from the fact that agriculture's serious problems cannot be adequately corrected by farmers individually;
2. objective normlessness, arising out of the discrepancy between the existing rural ethos and some economic and social "realities" of farming;

3. objective meaninglessness, resulting when farmers find themselves "at odds" over social issues; and

4. objective social isolation, produced out of town-country antagonisms often rooted in the early era of prairie settlement.

For the empirical study of the problems listed above it was also necessary to operationalize the concept of subjective alienation. Only two of the original three areas tested as part of the concept were included in the final operational definition. Thus, subjective alienation was composed of powerlessness (the attitude of having no control over future events that affect oneself) and normlessness (the attitudes that (a) there are no values or directives in life, and (b) what values there are tend to contradict each other). Social isolation (the attitude that one is lacking a personal sphere of friends) was found to be empirically unrelated to the other two attitude areas and was omitted.

III. SPECIFIC CONCLUSIONS

The Relationship Between Objective Personal and Social Disorganization and Subjective Alienation

Socio-economic status. None of the measures of socio-economic status were associated significantly with subjective alienation. It was predicted that level of living, income and amount of formal education would all be negatively associated with subjective alienation. This prediction was based on the theoretical assumptions that (a) latency conflicts produced by the occurrence of uncontrollable events are less vivid for individuals with higher socio-economic status, and (b) high status

individuals are subject to less objective anomie.¹ Given these assumptions, the evidence warrants the conclusion that subjective alienation is not produced by objective personal and social disorganization as far as the latter is represented by measures of socio-economic status in the rural community studied.

However, there may be some trends which are counter to the hypothesized relationships. In assessing the relationships that obtained involving level of living and income, it must be remembered that only farm respondents were considered because the data was not comparable between farm and city residents. Especially in the case of level of living in rural areas, standards have improved considerably. Standards of living on farms has increased to the point where it compares very favourably with urban living. Finally, rural educational standards have also improved and farm residents may not feel that they "take a back seat" to urbanites on the basis of education. In Chapter IV it was argued that the fact that farmers had to look to the city for innovations and amenities while the rural ethos held up farming to be the "good life" provided an area of latency conflict and a source of subjective alienation for many farmers. But the time may have come when farmers no longer look to the city for living amenities and innovations. Especially with the increase in farm size and the decrease in number of farms, farm units may now be characterized by the "completeness" that was typical of them during the period of settlement.

The above discussion may help to explain the lack of relationship between socio-economic status and normlessness. However, the fact that no signifi-

¹ Confer ante, pp. 123 ff.

cant relationship obtained between socio-economic status and powerlessness remains a contradiction to the theoretical frame of reference. Hence it cannot be concluded from these data that those aspects of objective personal and social disorganization which are related to socio-economic status do cause subjective alienation, at least in its powerlessness form, although they may cause attitudes of normlessness.

Age. Age was not found to be significantly related to subjective alienation in the rural community studied. This lack of relationship fails to support the empirical conclusions of other researchers cited earlier.² It does not warrant the conclusion that the differences in the experiences of the first and second generations of farmers with respect to objective personal and social disorganization produce significant differences in their respective attitudes of alienation.

Thus it cannot be concluded from these data that objective personal and social disorganization as it is related to age does produce subjective alienation.

Integration. Powerlessness was not significantly related to either organizational involvement or religious involvement. However, the relationship between organizational involvement and normlessness was significant and negative. Similarly, a negative and near-significant relationship obtained between religious involvement and normlessness. This relationship was predicted on the theoretical assumption that integration with group life permitted the individual to avoid many areas of latency conflict and hence experience lower levels of subjective alienation.

When it is assumed that attitudes of powerlessness are produced pri-

² Supra, pp. 125 ff.

marily by objective powerlessness and that attitudes of normlessness are produced primarily by objective normlessness then the fact that subjective normlessness formed the only significant relationship with organizational and religious involvement is perhaps explainable.

In the first place, farmers who are members of rural community organizations or who are active in rural churches can perhaps avoid latency conflict in either of two ways. Firstly, they may be so "steeped" in the rural ethos that discrepancies between the ethos and farm experience (i.e. the discrepancies which were cited in Chapter IV as evidence of objective normlessness in the rural setting) tend to go unnoticed. Secondly, the organization or church in which the farmer is active may be engaged in attempting to reduce these very discrepancies. Members of these organizations would be expected to have lower levels of alienation in its normlessness form.

In the second place, it has already been noted that some individuals respond to latency conflict by attempting to create norms where they were previously non-operative. This was called the "normative reaction to normlessness." The relationships that obtained in the present study suggest that "normative reactors" tend to be more highly involved in organizations and church activities. Thus farmers appear to be "true believers" perhaps in a more limited or restrained sense.

It is therefore possible to conclude that objective personal and social disorganization as it is measured by integration in this study produces normlessness although it does not seem to produce powerlessness.

Summary. No conclusive statement can be made on the basis of empirical

evidence presented in the present study concerning the general prediction that elements of objective personal and social disorganization produce subjective alienation. Only in the case of integration was any relationship between the two general variables significant. However, it is interesting that all of the other variables, except level of living, tended to vary with either powerlessness or normlessness as was predicted in the respective hypotheses. This fact casts suspicion on the efficiency of the measures of the various variables used in the study. This limitation will be dealt with at the end of the chapter.

The Relationship Between Subjective Alienation and Rural-to-Urban Physical and Occupational Migration

Physical migration has been shown to be positively related to powerlessness but not to normlessness. At the same time, no significant relationship was found to exist between occupational migration and either powerlessness or normlessness although "intermediate" occupational migrants tended to have stronger normless attitudes. More detailed study of the exact relationship between migration and powerlessness reveals that farmers who maintain a farm residence but who have considered moving are much more often highly alienated than either those who maintain a farm residence and have not considered moving, or those who have already moved. This same tendency was also supported when the farm sample was considered alone and in the (insignificant) relationship between occupational migration and normlessness.

It can be concluded from this evidence that farmers who are actively considering migration away from their farm residences tend to be more often highly

alienated than farmers who presently live on the farm and are not considering migration. However, once they have migrated off of the farm their alienation level appears to decrease. Considering the original hypothesis used to test this relationship its rationale seems to have been adequate to explain what actually was found, even though the hypothesis did not completely account for this peculiarity of rural-to-urban migration. The actual relationship may run as follows. A farmer gradually becomes more alienated as the potential latency conflicts in his social environment do, in fact, turn into crises. At this stage he attempts an adaptation to the actual personal and social disorganization that confronts him.

The evidence of the data also suggests that the form of alienation producing migration as an adaptation to personal and social disorganization is powerlessness. When it is assumed that the attitude of powerlessness is most sensitive to those latency conflicts which are examples of objective powerlessness, it can be concluded that migrants are confronted especially by such latency conflicts in the farm way of life as stem from the fact that they are unable to control the occurrence of future events which affect their positions. In Chapter IV objective powerlessness was said to exist in the rural setting in the form of a general inability of farmers to correct their farm problems by individual action with the resources each controlled. Problems of unplanned reductions in production, low farm income and income insecurity could be expected to be the most vivid latency conflict areas for migrants given the positive relationship between physical migration and powerlessness.³

³ Meager evidence of a more subjective variety has also been collected

Thus, it can be concluded from these data that subjective alienation does apparently produce rural-to-urban migration, at least in the case of attitudes of powerlessness.

The Relationship Between Objective Personal and Social Disorganization and Rural-to-Urban Physical and Occupational Migration

It will be recalled that the purpose of the set of hypotheses concerning the relation of objective disorganization to migration was to check for the possibility that migration was caused by disorganization without concomitant attitudes of alienation. Of the nine specific relationships tested three showed some evidence of the above possibility, four tended to support the prediction that subjective alienation produces rural-to-urban migration and two provided no conclusive evidence in either direction.

Rejected hypotheses. Three of the hypotheses that were rejected by the empirical evidence involved the variable of formal education and age. The relationship between amount of formal education and rural-to-urban physical and occupational migration was positive and significant. The relationship between age and physical migration was negative and significant. The relationships between subjective alienation and these two variables were not significant in either case.

in the present study which tends to verify this prediction. Farm respondents who had considered migration were asked "What would you say are your major reasons for wanting to move out of farming?" Significantly, the majority of replies (54 per cent) identified "economic" farm problems as the major "grievance." Ten per cent reported that their major reason for wanting to move revolved around "family" reasons, 10 per cent said "health" reasons, 23 per cent mentioned miscellaneous other reasons and 3 per cent gave no reason.

However, there was a tendency for those who had more formal education to have lower levels of powerlessness. In the case of age, older respondents also tended to have higher levels of normlessness. Thus the conclusion seems warranted from the data provided here that those aspects of objective personal and social disorganization which are related to formal education apparently produce physical and occupational migration and those aspects related to age levels produce physical migration without also producing concomitant alienation.

Supported hypotheses. One of the variables that measured integration, (namely religious involvement), established negative, significant relationships with both subjective alienation (normlessness) and rural-to-urban occupational migration. Hence, it can be concluded from these data that in this area objective personal and social disorganization apparently produces both occupational migration and concomitant alienation. This combination of relationships also provides some evidence that attitudes of normlessness are associated with rural-to-urban migration although this relationship was not significant when tested in the Series "B" hypothesis.

The other variable, namely organizational involvement, tended to provide similar evidence for the relationship between normlessness and physical migration although this evidence was not statistically significant.

Inconclusive hypotheses. No significant relationships obtained between level of living and income and either subjective alienation or rural-to-urban physical migration. There is a sense in which this lack of a significant relationship in both cases (alienation and migration) supports the predictions that (a) objective disorganization produces migration and concomitant alienation, and (b) attitudes of alienation produce migration.

The lack of relationship between level of living and income and rural-to-urban physical migration enables the qualification of the relationship that obtained between powerlessness and rural-to-urban physical migration. Powerlessness has been assumed to be most sensitive to latency conflict arising from the fact that farmers cannot correct their serious industry-wide farm problems while working as individuals. Most of these problems can be reduced to economic difficulties revolving around low and insecure farm incomes. Thus, on the one hand, attitudes of alienation stemming basically from the economic aspects of farming were shown to be positively related to physical migration. On the other hand, actual economic variables such as level of living and income obtained no significant relationship with physical migration. Hence, it can be concluded that while physical migration is not itself associated with significant differences in income and living levels, concern that one is not receiving an "adequate" or "fair" income tends to be a motivating force behind this type of migration.

IV. LIMITATIONS

Several methodological limitations were mentioned at the end of Chapter V.⁴ Other more general limitations are listed below.

1. Although the analysis measured only associations among the variables, causation was inferred. In a strict sense these inferences are not legitimate without also showing that the independent variables preceded the dependents in time and were also necessary and sufficient to produce them. In order to provide this kind

⁴ Supra, pp. 114 ff.

of data, a time study would have to be attempted where perhaps a rural population's alienation level was first measured and after a given time lapse both the migrants and farm residents were again tested. However, such studies are not without their own methodological shortcomings. In this case, something like a general change in the economic climate would change alienation so drastically as to destroy the validity of an alienation-migration relationship.

2. While evidence of objective personal and social disorganization in the rural setting has been enumerated, this discussion was incomplete and lacked any strict empirical basis. Thus, while it can be assumed that objective disorganization exists in the rural setting one cannot be sure which latency conflict areas are important and which are relatively unimportant.

3. Nevertheless the material presented in Chapter IV did provide strong evidence of the existence of objective personal and social disorganization of one kind or another in the rural setting. Therefore, the fact that few significant relationships obtained between the "social" variables and migration, and alienation warrants caution in the future use of attitude scales concerning alienation in rural studies. The possibility that the measures of powerlessness and normlessness were not efficient enough to produce strong relationships has been mentioned earlier in this chapter. Anyone attempting to evaluate the results of this study is placed in a dilemma because it is not clear whether the attitude scales were inaccurate or whether in fact subjective alienation is largely not related to objective disorganization in the rural setting. The weight of the evidence seems to show that the attitude scales were at fault. First, their formats invited unwarranted bias because the "agree" responses were always the most alienated

responses. Second, most of the relationships tested proved to be in the direction predicted by the hypotheses even though they were not statistically significant. Third, the scale items largely did not pertain specifically to the rural setting. Future studies involving the measurement of subjective alienation in the rural setting should attempt to construct original attitude scales taking particular cognizance of the prevailing rural ethos. The use of any attitude scales on a farmer sample would seem tenuous until the maze of common "farm" attitudes have been "sorted out" at least in a subjective manner such as that used in Chapter IV. Such an analysis might begin by constructing "ideal" typologies of various attitudinal content areas and then proceed to show their systematic relationships to each other and to the rest of the social system.

V. IMPLICATIONS

Accounting for the limitations cited, the following practical implications seem warranted.

1. The weight of the evidence suggests that if the present trends in rural-to-urban migration continue, it can be expected that the rural areas will be "drained" of those with more formal education first. Considered in a different light, the evidence also indicates that those with more formal education perhaps find migration to the city an easier transfer than those with less education.

2. Farmers who are actively considering migration tend to be more alienated than either those who are not considering migration or those who have already migrated. Governments are beginning to become concerned about the rather high rate of rural-to-urban migration with an "eye" to developing programs to

assist the migrating farmer and his family. In this regard, a lack of specialized skills among farmers and an economy which does not operate at full employment present obvious problems for governmental consideration. But any attempt to relocate farm families in urban settings also will have to consider the fact that a strong source of "adjustment" difficulties will begin before the migrants leave the farm. This will involve the "mental state" with which farmers leave farming to take up new occupations. It can be expected that a predominant attitude of "pre-migrants" will be a belief that they have relatively limited control over the future happenings which affect them.

3. Evidence pointed up in this study seems to suggest that use of the "disorganization" frame of reference in explaining rural-to-urban migration is more applicable to the area of organizational and religious involvement. As a general rule, farmers who are highly "involved" in their rural community activities tend to remain on the farm and tend to have lower levels of alienation than those considering migration.

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APPENDIX

THE FARMER AND MIGRANT INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

Department of Sociology,
University of Alberta,
Edmonton, Alberta.

Identification No. _____

PROJECT RUMALIEN

Respondent _____

Land Location _____

Date	Call No.	Call Back Date

Interview Number _____

1. Would you tell me first where you
spent your childhood?

local 1
elsewhere in Sask.. . . . 2
Man. or Alta.. . . . 3
elsewhere in Canada . . . 4
United States 5
Russia 6
British Isles. 7
elsewhere in Europe . . . 8
other (specify). 9

Not answered x

2. And was that in a city or a farm family?

city 1
farm 2
partly farm 3
rural non-farm 4

Not answered x

3. Would you mind telling me how old
you are?

Exact age: _____

up to 24. 1
25 to 34. 2
35 to 44. 3
45 to 54. 4
55 to 64. 5
65 to 74. 6
75 and over 7

Not answered x

4. What is your marital status? (Are you married?)	single 1 married 2 divorced 3 separated 4 widowed 5 other (specify). 6
	Not answered x
5. Could you tell me what grade of formal schooling you have completed?	none 1 1 to 3. 2 4 to 6. 3 7 to 8. 4 9 to 10 5 11 to 12 6 University Degree 7 Post Grad. Degree 8
	Not answered x
6. And have you any technical training other than farming? What kind of training exactly have you taken?	none 1 1 year 2 2 years. 3 3 years. 4 4 years. 5
	Not answered x
7. What national group did your father's family come from? (Father's father)	Eng., Scot., Ireland, Wales 1 Dutch or German. 2 French 3 French Canadian 4 Scandinavian. 5 Russian. 6 Ukrainian 7 Other East European 8 other (specify). 9
	Not answered x Don't know z

8. Do you usually live all year here on the farm, or do you live somewhere else?	none	1
	below 4 months	2
	4 to 5 months	3
	6 to 7 months	4
	8 to 9 months	5
	10 to 11 months	6
	12 months.	7
	other (specify).	8
	Not answered	x

(IF 12 MONTHS, PROCEED TO #10)

9. (If part-time resident) Where do you live for the remaining months?	other farm	1
	local town	2
	The Battlefords.	3
	Prince Albert	4
	Saskatoon	5
	other city (100,000+) (specify)	6
	other non-city (specify)	7
	Not answered	x

10. I would like to know if there's anything else you do besides farm?	yes	1
	no	2
	Not answered	x

11. What other kind of work do you do?

12. Personally, how satisfied are you with farming as a way of life?	very satisfied	1
	satisfied	2
	indifferent	3
	dissatisfied	4
	very dissatisfied	5
	Not answered.	x

13. Have you at any time, over the years, ever considered moving out of farming completely?	yes	1
	no	2
	Not answered	x

(IF NO, PROCEED TO #19)

14. (If yes) What would you say are your major reasons
for wanting to move out of farming?

Rank

Family reasons:

Economic or financial reasons:

Health reasons:

Other reasons:

15. Could you tell me which of these reasons are the most important to you?

16. (If yes) Where exactly had you though you would move?	local town	1
	The Battlefords	2
	Prince Albert.	3
	Saskatoon	4
	other city (100,000+)	
	(specify)	5
	other non-city	
	(specify)	6
	Don't know	7
17. Do you think you would take another job there?	Not answered	x
	D. N. A.	y
	yes	1
	no	2
	Don't know	3
	Not answered	x
	D. N. A.	y

18. What kind of job would you take?

know	1
don't know	2
not answered	x
D. N. A.	y

19. Do you think it would be possible for you to move out of farming if you wanted to?

yes	1
no	2
not answered	x

20. (If yes) In other words, you are financially capable of moving out of farming completely?

yes	1
no	2
not answered	x
D. N. A.	y

21. (If no) Why would you not be able to move?

Rank

Family reasons:

Economic or financial reasons:

Health reasons:

Other reasons:

22. Which of these reasons, would you say, was most important to you?

23. a. Do you have more than one residence? Yes ____ No ____
- b. Do you have a telephone? Yes ____ No ____
- c. Do you have a television? Yes ____ No ____
- d. Do you have a piano? Yes ____ No ____
- e. Do you have a basement or cellar (full or part) with concrete or stone walls and floor? Yes ____ No ____
- f. Do you have a furnace, that is, do you have central heating? Yes ____ No ____
- g. Do you have running hot water with pipes and faucet? Yes ____ No ____
- h. Do you have a private car or station wagon? Yes ____ No ____
(If yes) What year is it? ____
(If two cars, record the latest year.)

24. a. How much land do you farm? _____
- b. How many acres did you seed to wheat this spring? _____
- Oats? _____
- Barley? _____
- Flax? _____
- How many acres do you have in summerfallow now? _____
- c. How many steers and heifers did you sell last year? _____
- How many culled cows and slaughter bulls? _____
- How many breeding bulls? _____
- How many calves? _____
- How many pigs? _____

d. How many milking cows do you have? _____

How many laying birds do you have? _____

How many birds for meat production? Chickens _____

Turkeys _____

25. I would like to know what organizations you belong to. Here is a card with a list of organizations in your area. (SHOW CARD)

Name of Organization	Present Office			Past Office		
	Pres.	Sec.-Treas	Other	Pres.	Sec.-Treas	Other
S.F.U.?						

26. What is your religious preference?
(DISTINGUISH MENNONITE FROM
MENNONITE BRETHREN)

none	1
Anglican	2
Lutheran	3
Mennonite Brethren	4
Roman Catholic	5
Greek Orthodox	6
Greek Catholic	7
United Church	8
Other (specify)	9

Not answered x

27. (IF RESPONDENT HAS RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE)

How active would you say you are in your church?

(3/4 +)	very active	1
(1/2 - 3/4)	active.	2
(0 - 1/2)	not so active	3
(0)	inactive	4
	Not answered	x
	D.N.A.	y

I would like to ask you a few questions about your family to find out where they live now and if they've ever moved.

28. Are your father and mother living?	Father:	yes	1
		no	2
		not answered	x

29. (If living) Could you tell me approxi- mately how old your father is?	Mother:	yes	1
Age: _____		no	2
		not answered	x

30. (If living) Could you tell me where (they) (he) (she), (are) (is) living?
Father:
Mother:
(IF FATHER IS LIVING IN SASKATOON, AND UNDER 65 YEARS OLD, OBTAIN HIS EXACT STREET AND NUMBER.)

31. How often do you hear from (them, him, her)	more often	1
	weekly	2
	every 2 weeks	3
	every month	4
	every 2 months	5
	twice a year	6
	yearly.	7
	less often	8
	not answered	x

32. Could you tell me how many moves your father has made that you know of? (BEGIN WITH CHILDHOOD IF POSSIBLE)	none	1
	1	2
	2	3
	3	4
	4	5
	5	6
	6 - 10	7
	10 or more	8
	not answered	x
	don't know	y

33. Do you have any brothers? *

Full Name of Saskatoon Resident	Older or Younger Than Yourself	Present Residence	Address of Saskatoon Resident	Occupation	Ever a Farmer	No. of Moves You Know Of	How Often Do You Hear From(Him)

* (IF SASKATOON RESIDENT) Could I have this brother's full name and address so that we can ask him similar questions in the city?

34. A person will sometimes have a relative or close friend who he looks up to or regards highly. Do you have one or two relatives or close friends whose behaviour would most likely influence what you do?

None _____

Present Residence	His Occupation	Ever A Farmer	Number of Moves You Know Of
1. _____			
2. _____			
3. _____			

35. I would like to know if there are any close farm neighbors of yours that have moved away in the last 10 to 15 years.

Older or Younger Than Yourself?	Present Residence	Occupation
1. _____		
2. _____		
3. _____		
4. _____		
5. _____		

36. (IF MARRIED - Question #4)

Do you have any children?	none	1
	1	2
	2	3
	3	4
	4	5
	5 to 10	6
	10 or more	7
	not answered	x
	D.N.A..	y

Listed below are some general statements. I would like to find out how you feel about these statements by having you check your agreement or disagreement with each as they stand.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
a. There's little use in writing to public officials because they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man					
b. Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself					
c. In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better.					
d. It's hardly fair to bring children into the world, the way things look for the future.					
e. These days a person does not really know whom he can count on.					
f. Sometimes I feel alone in the world					
g. I worry about the future facing today's children . . .					
h. The end often justifies the means.					
i. I don't get invited out by friends as often as I'd really like					
j. Most people today seldom feel lonely.. . . .					

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
k. Sometimes I have the feeling that other people are using me					
l. People's ideas change so much that I wonder if we'll ever have anything to depend on.					
m. Real friends are as easy as ever to find					
n. It is frightening to be responsible for the development of a little child . . .					
o. Everything is relative, and there just aren't any definite rules to live by . .					
p. One can always find friends if he shows himself friendly					
q. I wonder what the meaning of life really is					
r. There is little or nothing I can do about preventing a major "shooting" war. . .					
s. The world in which we live is basically a friendly place					
t. There are so many decisions to be made today that sometimes I could just blow up					
u. The only thing one can be sure of today is that he can be sure of nothing					

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
v. There are few dependable ties between people any more					
w. There is little chance to get ahead in farming unless a man gets a break					
x. With so many religions around, one doesn't know which to believe					
y. We're so regimented to-day that there's not much room for choice even in personal matters					
z. We're just so many cogs in the machinery of life					
aa. People are just naturally friendly and helpful					
bb. The future looks very dismal					
cc. I don't get to visit friends as often as I'd really like					

Department of Sociology,
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta

Identification No. _____

PROJECT RUMALIEN "C"

Respondent _____

Address _____

Date	Call No.	Call Back Date

Interview Number _____

1. Would you tell me first where you
spent your childhood?

- local (Radisson or Borden
area) 1
- elsewhere in Sask. 2
- Man. or Alta. 3
- elsewhere in Canada 4
- United States. 5
- Russia 6
- British Isles 7
- elsewhere in Europe 8
- other (specify) 9

Not answered x

2. And was that in a city or a farm family?

- city 1
- farm 2
- partly farm 3
- rural non-farm 4

Not answered x

3. Would you mind telling me how old
you are?

Exact age: _____

- up to 24 1
- 25 to 34 2
- 35 to 44 3
- 45 to 54 4
- 55 to 64 5
- 65 to 74 6
- 75 and over 7

Not answered x

4. What is your marital status? (Are you married?)	single. 1 married 2 divorced 3 separated 4 widowed 5 other (specify). 6
	Not answered x
5. Could you tell me what grade of formal schooling you have completed?	none 1 1 to 3. 2 4 to 6. 3 7 to 8. 4 9 to 10 5 11 to 12. 6 University Degree 7 Post Grad. Degree 8
	Not answered x
6. And have you any technical training other than farming? What kind of training exactly have you taken?	none 1 1 year 2 2 years 3 3 years 4 4 years 5
	Not answered x
7. What national group did your father's family come from? (Father's father)	Eng., Scot., Ireland, Wales 1 Dutch or German 2 French 3 French Canadian 4 Scandinavian 5 Russian. 6 Ukrainian. 7 Other East European 8 other (specify) 9
	Not answered x Don't know z

8. For how many months of the year do you live here?

- none 1
 - below 4 months 2
 - 4 to 5 months 3
 - 6 to 7 months 4
 - 8 to 9 months 5
 - 10 to 11 months 6
 - 12 months. 7
 - other (specify). 8
-
- Not answered x

(IF 12 MONTHS, PROCEED TO #10)

9. (If part-time resident)
Where do you live for the remaining months?

- farm (specify area) 1
 - local town (Radisson or Borden) 2
 - The Battlefords 3
 - Prince Albert 4
 - Saskatoon 5
 - other city (100,000+) (specify) 6
 - other non-city (specify) 7
-
- Not answered x
- D.N.A. y

10. Could you tell me what your major occupation is? Be very specific.

- Professional, proprietors & managers 1
 - farmers 2
 - skilled labourers 3
 - unskilled labourers. 4
 - retired 5
 - other 6
-
- Not answered x

11. I would like to know if there's anything else you do.

- yes 1
 - no 2
-
- Not answered x

12. What other kind of work do you do?

13. Have you spent part of your life on a farm? yes 1
no 2
Not answered x

14. (If yes) What would you say were your major reasons for leaving the farm?

Family reasons:

Economic or financial reasons:

Health reasons:

Other reasons:

15. Could you tell me which of these reasons was most important to you?

16. How long did you think about moving less than 1 week 1
before you actually moved? less than 1 month. 2
less than 6 months 3
less than 1 year 4
over 1 year 5
Not answered x

17. For how long have you lived in less than 1 year 1
_____ ? less than 5 years 2
(Name of town or city) less than 10 years 3
Exact number of years: _____ less than 15 years 4
less than 20 years 5
21 years or over 6
Not answered x

18. Personally, how satisfied are you with your way of life here?

very satisfied 1
satisfied 2
indifferent 3
dissatisfied 4
very dissatisfied. 5

Not answered x

19. Have you at any time, over the years, considered moving from your present home?

yes 1
no 2

Not answered x

(IF NO, PROCEED TO #25)

20. (If yes) What would you say are your major reasons for wanting to move?

Family reasons:

Rank

Economic or financial reasons:

Health reasons:

Other reasons:

21. Could you tell me which of these reasons are the most important to you?

22. (If yes) Where exactly had you thought you would move?

local town (Radisson or Borden) 1
The Battlefords 2
Prince Albert 3
Saskatoon 4
other city (100,000+ (specify). 5
other non-city (specify). 6
Don't know 7

Specify:

Not answered x

D. N. A. y

23. Do you think you would take another job there?

yes 1
no 2
don't know. 3

not answered x
D.N.A. y

24. What kind of job would you take?

know 1
don't know. 2

Specify:

not answered x
D.N.A. y

25. Do you think it would be possible for you to move if you wanted to?

yes 1
no 2

not answered x

26. (If yes) In other words, you are financially capable of moving?

yes 1
no 2

not answered x
D.N.A. y

27. (If no) Why would you not be able to move?

Rank

Family reasons:

Economic or financial reasons:

Health reasons:

Other reasons:

28. Which of these reasons, would you say, was most important to you?

29. a. Do you have more than one residence? Yes _____ No _____
- b. Do you own or rent your home? Own _____ Rent _____
- c. How many rooms do you have? rooms _____
bathrooms _____
- How many live with you at home? _____
- d. Do you have a telephone? Yes _____ No _____
- e. Do you have a television? Yes _____ No _____
- f. Do you have a piano? Yes _____ No _____
- g. Do you have a basement or cellar (full or part)
with concrete or stone walls and floor? Yes _____ No _____
- h. Do you have a furnace, that is, do you have
central heating? Yes _____ No _____
- i. Do you have running hot water with pipes and faucet? Yes _____ No _____
- j. Do you have an indoor toilet? Yes _____ No _____
- k. Do you have one or more private cars or station wagons?
Year i) _____ iii) _____
ii) _____ iv) _____
- l. Do you have savings or insurance other than offered by your employer
or government?
- i) Life insurance or annuities Yes _____ No _____
- ii) Property insurance Yes _____ No _____
- iii) Investments (stocks or bonds) Yes _____ No _____
- iv) Other (specify) Yes _____ No _____
30. Could you tell me which of the following categories corresponds most closely
to your annual income?
- | | | |
|----|----------------------------|---|
| \$ | 0 to 1,499 | 1 |
| | 1,500 to 2,999 | 2 |
| | 3,000 to 4,499 | 3 |
| | 4,500 to 5,999 | 4 |
| | 6,000 to 7,499 | 5 |
| | 7,500 to 8,999 | 6 |
| | 9,000 to 11,499 | 7 |
| | 11,500 to 12,999 | 8 |
| | 13,000 and over | 9 |
| | not answered | x |

31. I would like to know what organizations you belong to. Here is a card with a list of organizations in your area. (SHOW CARD)

Name of Organization	Present Office			Past Office		
	Pres.	Sec.-Treas.	Other	Pres.	Sec.-Treas.	Other
Employees' Union						

32. What is your religious preference?
(DISTINGUISH MENNONITE FROM MENNONITE BRETHREN)

none	1
Anglican	2
Lutheran	3
Mennonite Brethren	4
Roman Catholic	5
Greek Orthodox	6
Greek Catholic	7
United Church	8
Other (specify).	9
not answered	x

33. (IF RESPONDENT HAS RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE)
How active would you say you are in your church?

(3/4+)	very active	1
(1/2 - 3/4)	active	2
(0 - 1/2)	not so active	3
(0)	inactive	4
	not answered	x
	D.N.A.	y

I would like to ask you a few questions about your family to find out where they live now and if they've ever moved.

34. Are your father and mother living?

Father:	yes	1
	no	2
	not answered	x
Mother:	yes	1
	no	2
	not answered	x

35. (If living) Could you tell me approximately how old your father is?

Age: _____

36. (If living) Could you tell me where (they) (he) (she), (are) (is) living?

Father:

Mother:

(IF FATHER IS LIVING IN SASKATOON, AND UNDER 65 YEARS OLD, OBTAIN HIS EXACT STREET AND NUMBER)

37. How often do you hear from (them, him, her)	more often	1
	weekly	2
	every two weeks.	3
	every month.	4
	every two months	5
	twice a year	6
	yearly	7
	less often.	8
	not answered	x

38. Could you tell me how many moves your father has made that you know of?	none	1
(BEGIN WITH CHILDHOOD IF POSSIBLE)	1.	2
	2.	3
	3.	4
	4.	5
	5.	6
	6 - 10	7
	10 or more	8
	not answered	x
	don't know	y

40. A person will sometimes have a relative or close friend who he looks up to or regards highly. Do you have one or two relatives or close friends whose behaviour would most likely influence what you do?

None _____

Present Residence	His Occupation	Ever A Farmer?	Number of Moves You Know Of
-------------------	----------------	----------------	-----------------------------

- | | | | |
|----|-------|--|--|
| 1. | _____ | | |
| 2. | _____ | | |
| 3. | _____ | | |

41. I would like to know if there are any close neighbors of yours that have moved away in the last 10 to 15 years.

Older or Younger Than Yourself	Present Residence	Occupation
--------------------------------	-------------------	------------

- | | | |
|----|-------|--|
| 1. | _____ | |
| 2. | _____ | |
| 3. | _____ | |
| 4. | _____ | |
| 5. | _____ | |
| 6. | _____ | |

42. (IF MARRIED - Question #4)

Do you have any children?

None	1
1.	2
2.	3
3.	4
4.	5
5 to 10	6
10 or more	7
not answered	x
D.N.A.	y

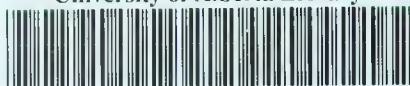
Listed below are some general statements. I would like to find out how you feel about these statements by having you check your agreement or disagreement with each as they stand.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
a. There's little use in writing to public officials because they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man					
b. Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself					
c. In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better.					
d. It's hardly fair to bring children into the world, the way things look for the future.					
e. These days a person does not really know whom he can count on.					
f. Sometimes I feel alone in the world					
g. I worry about the future facing today's children . . .					
h. The end often justifies the means.					
i. I don't get invited out by friends as often as I'd really like					
j. Most people today seldom feel lonely.. . . .					

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
k. Sometimes I have the feeling that other people are using me					
l. People's ideas change so much that I wonder if we'll ever have anything to depend on.					
m. Real friends are as easy as ever to find					
n. It is frightening to be responsible for the development of a little child . . .					
o. Everything is relative, and there just aren't any definite rules to live by . .					
p. One can always find friends if he shows himself friendly					
q. I wonder what the meaning of life really is					
r. There is little or nothing I can do about preventing a major "shooting" war. . .					
s. The world in which we live is basically a friendly place					
t. There are so many decisions to be made today that sometimes I could just blow up					
u. The only thing one can be sure of today is that he can be sure of nothing					

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
v. There are few dependable ties between people any more					
w. There is little chance to get ahead in farming unless a man gets a break					
x. With so many religions around, one doesn't know which to believe					
y. We're so regimented to-day that there's not much room for choice even in personal matters					
z. We're just so many cogs in the machinery of life . . .					
aa. People are just naturally friendly and helpful					
bb. The future looks very dismal					
cc. I don't get to visit friends as often as I'd really like					

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